



# The California Historical Society *Quarterly*

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Redick McKee and the  
Humboldt Bay Region, 1851-1852

*By* CHAD L. HOOPES

Costanso's 1794 Report on Strengthening  
New California's Presidios

*Translated by* MANUEL P. SERVIN

Irish-Born Champion of the Mexican-Americans

*By* FRANCIS J. WEBER

The Gianninis — Men of the Renaissance

*By* DWIGHT L. CLARKE

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SEPTEMBER 1970

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# Redick McKee and the Humboldt Bay Region, 1851-1852

By CHAD L. HOOPES

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THE WHITE SETTLEMENT of the Humboldt Bay Region precluded the bloody conflicts between the new settlers and Indians, which in time forced the federal government to employ Redick McKee to find a solution to the California Indian problem. Before settlers arrived in the Humboldt region, however, the United States military authorities realized the importance of good Indian and white relations in California and assigned agents to three areas. On April 7, 1847, General S. W. Kearny appointed John A. Sutter agent for the area along the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers; M. G. Vallejo agent for the area north of San Francisco Bay; and J. D. Hunter agent for the area south of San Francisco Bay. The office of Indian Affairs, under the jurisdiction of the War Department, asked these men "to maintain peace, to distribute presents, and to reclaim ex-neophytes."

In 1849, when Indian affairs were placed under the guidance of the Interior Department, it appointed Adam Johnston agent to manage the Indian situation.<sup>1</sup> The impossibility of the task is obvious and by the end of 1850 there were hostile movements of Indians in most areas of California. Governor Peter Burnett saw the problem in this perspective:

The Indians saw their lands, for which the General Government showed no interest to treat, passing out of their possession to a people that had no sympathy for them, crowding into their choice places, diseases were thinning their tribes. They accepted the notion that they were a doomed race. Discouraged and moody, the Government failing to provide for their wants, the Indians saw the prospect of starvation following. To avert it came thefts from the settlers. The whites were not slow to punish the thieves, nor the Indians to avenge their wrongs with murder. Volunteer companies organized expeditions to quell the

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disturbance; they failing, the militia were called out, and then there was a pretty bill of expenses on the Indian War Account.<sup>2</sup>

Indian hostilities by 1850 served to impress upon Congress the necessity for some arrangement to appease the Indians and the whites. Accordingly, President Millard Fillmore authorized three Indian Commissioners for California, who brought with them a philosophy that to feed the Indians for a year would be cheaper than to fight them for a week and that to locate the California Indians on their own reservations would be fundamental for peace. Redick McKee, George Barbour, and O. M. Wozencraft received commissions from the Department of Interior designating them Indian Agents in California, effective October 10, 1850.<sup>3</sup>

These commissions and an appropriation of \$25,000 had been authorized September 30 by Congress to "enable the President to hold treaties with the various Indian Tribes in the State of California."<sup>4</sup> The agents accepted their appointments, but their investigation of the salary schedule disclosed that no appropriation had been made for their salaries and expenses. Therefore, on October 15, 1850, their functions as Agents were suspended before they had begun. Since \$25,000 had been appropriated in the act for negotiating treaties with the Indians, the Agents were then, by a new act, appointed commissioners for that purpose. The act provided wages of eight dollars for each day actually employed and ten cents per mile for travel. After arriving in California, they were to hire a secretary for clerical work and interpreters when needed, at the lowest compensation. Retrenchment in expenditures was necessary with such a small appropriation, when compared to the great object the commissioners expected to attain — peace between Indians and whites.

The Interior Department possessed little knowledge respecting the character of the Indians in California. The determination to obtain information concerning the Indians' manners, habits, customs, and the extent of their civilization became the primary concern and object of the department. In conjunction with this study, the Department authorized the commissioners to make treaties and compacts with the Indians, to sustain the peace, and, if needed, to recommend the building of future military installations within areas of conflict.<sup>5</sup> In other words, the commissioners would initiate a new system making the Indians wards of the federal government.

Redick McKee bonded himself, "with security satisfactory to the Attorney General," to care for the finances; the appropriation of \$25,000 given to McKee for disbursement would cover \$6,500 for Indian presents and supplies, \$2,000 to each of the commissioners for support of their families, \$2,500 for traveling expenses and freight, and \$14,000 for a contingency fund for operations in California. McKee, however, expected operational costs to be two or three times greater, and \$14,000 would never suffice. He suggested to the Department of Interior before leaving Washington for San Francisco, that an appropriation of \$150,000 be made for their proposed operations on the coast. Congress ignored McKee's plea, and, in 1851, allotted only \$25,000.<sup>6</sup>

The first leg of Redick McKee's journey to California took him across the Isthmus of Panama. He left New York on November 5 and arrived at Panama on December 4. Four days later he sailed for San Francisco on the *Northern*.<sup>7</sup> As the steamer made its way north along the Pacific Coast, McKee remarked that he gave much thought to his newly acquired responsibility — that of preventing the destruction and extermination of the California Indians. In the absence of direct, positive instructions with little or no counsel and advice, McKee realized that he must develop his own program for the Indians, based on "his honest desire to promote at once the best good for the Indians."<sup>8</sup>

He reached San Francisco on January 13, 1851. Here the three commissioners met and organized, electing John McKee, the son of Redick McKee, secretary of the commission. The commissioners made an appointment to see Governor John McDougal and members of the legislature in session at the Capitol in San Jose. From them McKee expected to learn the facts connected with the recent Indian disturbances throughout the state. But McDougal spoke very bluntly to McKee, expressing to him his belligerent feelings toward the Indians. The governor had ordered the formation of armed volunteers to "chastise" the Indians. Finding that chastisement had been expensive, McDougal now wanted help from the federal government, and this session of the legislature had passed a joint resolution requesting Washington to establish forts on the California borders to protect the settlers.<sup>9</sup>

Assigned by the governor, the resolution read:

*Whereas*, a large portion of our State is unprotected from the different tribes of Indians that live upon our borders, and that these tribes are frequently engaged, and are now at war, with the citizens of this state; and in consequence of our present unprotected conditions, there is no security for either life or of property; and this State not having the means of extending that protection to its citizens which their present necessities require; *and whereas*, it is the duty of the Federal Government to protect its citizens from the incursions of either internal or external enemies, therefore it is *Resolved*, the Senate concurring, that our Senators be instructed and our Representatives be requested, to use their best efforts to have a portion of the United States troops established on our borders, and also to have a line of forts erected along the same for the purpose of protecting our citizens. *Resolved*, that the Governor be requested to forward a copy of the foregoing Preamble and Resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.<sup>10</sup>

The legislature sent the resolution to Senator William M. Gwin in Washington. The arguments contained within the document were persuasive and were effectually presented to Congress by the Senator. Later, as a consequence of this resolution and of the work of Redick McKee and Edward F. Beale, the War Department sent the Fourth Regiment, United States Infantry, to the Pacific Division in the summer of 1852. Two companies of this military unit, under the command of Robert Buchanan, established Fort Humboldt in February 1853.<sup>11</sup>

The governor's austere dealings with the Indians convinced McKee and his colleagues that it was not safe for them to visit the tribes without a military escort. Many direct injuries had been inflicted upon these tribes by the volunteers; and many promises of restitution and redress had been made to them that remained unfulfilled. Thus, the Indians had lost confidence in the white man, and they were now desperately fighting for their lives and property. To stave off starvation, the Indians slipped into the valleys at night to steal cattle and food from the settlers. These depredations brought on the cry of the white man to "kill off the whole damn race." Somewhat dismayed, the commissioners could see a two-fold problem facing them — appease the whites and save the Indians.

During the early spring of 1851, accompanied by a military escort from Benicia, the commissioners succeeded in making treaties with several tribes along the Stanislaus, Tuolumne, and Merced rivers. These treaties were the first attempt to segregate Indians on a reservation in "what was primarily a white man's country."<sup>12</sup> In the wake



of this success, McKee sent an estimate to the Department of Indian Affairs for a \$75,000 appropriation that he needed to continue to achieve favorable results with the Indians. Congress, however, did not acknowledge McKee's estimate for the second time and appropriated \$25,000 in 1851 to settle the California Indian problem, making the total to date \$50,000. McKee viewed the decision of Congress a blunder and a mistake: he believed total war would erupt unless the Indians were appeased and their dissatisfactions stopped.<sup>13</sup> In this Deficiency Act, a section abrogated and annulled the commissioners' functions as commissioners and appointed them agents to negotiate with the Indians of California, "as the President of the United States may designate for that purpose; and no officer or agent so employed shall receive any additional compensation for such service."<sup>14</sup>

The agents desired to divide the state into three districts so their policies could be more justly realized and accomplished. Several additional possibilities, however, existed for this action: e.g., diminishing jealousies between the agents as evidenced in their individual correspondences to Washington; improving coverage of the areas of trouble within the state; and ameliorating the demands from the settlers to end the Indians' depredations.

Upon notification, the Interior Department did not approve of the agents plan of division. Nonetheless, on May 1, the agents met at Camp Barbour on the San Joaquin River to carve out a temporary three district division.<sup>15</sup> The agents drew lots for their district: McKee gained the Northern District, Wozencraft the Middle District, and Barbour the Southern District. The agents notified the department of their decision:

We, as a joint body commissioners, have for the time being with a view of proceeding to the three districts of Country simultaneously. We wish to impress on the Department the great necessity of quieting and pacifying the Indians in this country before they become accustomed to the usages of war, before they learn and gain that dangerous experience. It is our opinion, if they should gain that knowledge, we will have the most formidable of all the aborigines of the continent to contend with, and a protracted war, terminating only by their extermination and at a fearful cost of life and treasure.<sup>16</sup>

These were wise words, and the officials in the department were cognizant that the agents were aware of the true situation and were

acquainted with the necessity of devising better coverage and control of the Indian tribes. The department approved their decision on the grounds that the agents could best serve the public interest because of their proximity to the problem.

In view of the vast extent of country to be traversed by the agents in carrying out their duties, the move to cease functioning as a commission and to work individually suggested an advance in the right direction. More important, however, were the pressing demands of the settlers to have something done about the Indian depredations in specific settlements, not in each district as a whole. This was the basic factor that forced the agents to make the division. And, regardless of what the future held, the agents devised the policy to pacify the Indians — “it is, in the end, cheaper to feed the whole flock for a year than to fight them for a week.”<sup>17</sup> This policy, although very realistic, was unsubstantial because by June, 1851, McKee, the disbursing agent for the three divisions, had no funds to institute the policy and to make treaties with the tribes. He complained, “I have not been advised even of the means of realizing the \$25,000 appropriated for 1851 by the last Congress; and if I was able to do so, the whole amount would be required to meet the liabilities already incurred by us in the discharge of the trust confided in us.”<sup>18</sup>

McKee supposed the appropriation had been sent, but it had not arrived. Agent Barbour, on Kings River, received McKee's letter telling of the “pitiful” grant of money by Congress. The agent wanted to know how the department expected them to keep the Indians in good humor by such a liberal allowance. “How this is to be done,” wrote McKee, “is beyond my arithmetic.”<sup>19</sup> But his arithmetic managed to put the federal government in debt \$716,294.79 by 1852, when only \$50,000 had been appropriated by Congress.

The Northern District had fallen to Redick McKee, and, regardless of the lack of funds, he planned to go to Humboldt Bay to hold councils with the Indians and to arrange for them to buy cattle at seven cents a pound. The source of McKee's misinformation regarding excessive cattle in the Humboldt Bay country is unknown. During this period the settlers needed their few cattle for draft animals and for reproduction. There was not enough beef to feed Indians accustomed to a diet of roots, sea food, and game.

The June voyage to Humboldt Bay did not materialize. McKee was very anxious to go north, but, as he wrote:

I was embarrassed in arranging for the journey by the want of money in the chest, as well as the lack of reliable information as to the numbers and locations of the Indian tribes inhabiting those wilds. From all the information yet collected from traders, miners, and travelers, who had visited the coast and penetrated the interior of the still lately unexplored district, the Indians were quite numerous, and by far the most warlike of their race in the state. Their principal settlements were said to be on the Russian, Eel, Trinity, Scott, and Klamath Rivers.<sup>20</sup>

While McKee waited for funds and made preparations for his journey to Humboldt Bay, a committee of citizens from Trinidad Bay arrived in San Francisco the middle of June. It demanded that McKee protect the settlers from the marauding Indians by making treaties with the "savages." If he did not, the former were going to call on the governor for volunteers to exterminate the "belligerents." McKee remarked:

I explained to the gentlemen my readiness, and, indeed, my great anxiety to visit their country and do all in my power to redress their grievances and *promised* that, if at all possible, I would set out with an escort of United States Troops immediately after the arrival of the steamer due in San Francisco 4th of July, 1851.<sup>21</sup>

McKee would not begin his laborious and expensive journey to the wilds of the north country because he anticipated that the Interior Department would soon remit the appropriation needed to finance the expedition. If the department did not, however, McKee would ask T. Butler King, Collector of the United States Customhouse, to cash a draft for \$15,000 to pay pressing liabilities and to pay for the expedition. If he was unsuccessful in this bid, the expedition would be postponed still longer. McKee's detention in San Francisco for several weeks would cause him anxiety, for his journey to Humboldt Bay was paramount. The citizens committee returned north with some satisfaction that McKee would honor his promise.

The steamer arrived on schedule, but without the appropriation. Nevertheless, a dispatch from the department arrived, stating that Congress had appropriated \$42,000 for general purposes and salaries: \$25,000 for holding treaties, \$6,750 for salaries, \$9,000 for agents' salaries, and \$1,500 for interpreters.<sup>22</sup> On July 10 assuming that Congress would release this appropriation, McKee obtained an advance of \$5,000 from King, but only part of the \$15,000 requested. King declined to loan McKee \$15,000 without authorization from the Treasury Department.<sup>23</sup> McKee used \$3,000 to pay against his

debts and used the remainder to cover the expenses of his expedition to Humboldt County.

Of the \$42,000 appropriation, only \$27,500 was ever remitted to McKee to pay his debts. The disposition of the remaining \$14,500 is unknown. The money due King, the sums due merchants for supplies, and the salaries due employees were debts which McKee could not postpone. Trusting that Congress would soon pay his vouchers, McKee borrowed \$5,000 from the Banking House of Sather and Church to pay his most pressing liabilities. And for the remaining debts, he issued "Certificates of Indebtedness payable upon receiving funds from Washington." Of McKee's total expenditures, \$716,394.79, arising from contracts to supply the Indians, Congress only satisfied claims amounting to \$287,000.<sup>24</sup>

Congress did not honor Redick McKee's bank note for several years. In order to obtain an extension of time from the bank while he presented his case to Congress, McKee mortgaged his homestead property. For five years he was forced to pay \$125 a month interest on the loan which amounted to \$7,500. Not obtaining relief from the federal government and not able to continue the interest payments, McKee lost his property, valued at \$30,000. McKee wrote to Congress:

If I had not confidence in the disposition of Congress to redress real grievances when satisfied of their existence, I should have lost all faith in human nature. My experience will, I hope, prove a warning to future disbursing agents, not, under any circumstances, to advance one dime for Uncle Sam, unless prepared, as I was not, to make the old gentleman a donation of the amount.<sup>25</sup>

In 1870, McKee received \$9,659.16 in reparation payments against his claim of \$48,880. Congress acknowledged that McKee had been honest in his dealings with the Indians and in his capacity as disbursing agent. But he had borrowed money without permission, and he had failed to allow the Department of Interior to judge the expediency of needed measures. McKee was an idealist; and, when the Department of Interior neglected to furnish McKee specific orders, he could only allow his conscience to guide him.

After McKee received the \$5,000 from King, he moved north to Sonoma. On August 9, 1851, he was notified that an escort of thirty-six dragoons, under the command of Major W. W. Wessells, would join

his expedition. Wessells had arrived at Sonoma from Benicia the previous day, but because arrangements were not completed, the expedition's first move north was deferred until August 11.<sup>27</sup> Redick McKee employed Thomas Seabring to guide the expedition to Humboldt Bay over the Sonoma Trail,<sup>28</sup> and George Gibbs for his Indian interpreter.<sup>29</sup>

The first seventy miles of the Sonoma Trail followed the valleys of Sonoma Creek and Russian River. Leaving the Russian River at its source, the trail crossed a divide, a series of mountains between the Russian and Eel rivers. This rough and dangerous crossing consists of nearly one hundred miles of heavy timber, brushy hills, mountains, gulches, and gorges. The trail then continues along the South Fork of the Eel to where it joins the main fork, which empties into the Pacific Ocean. Fortunately no member of the expedition lost his life, but two horses, four mules, and eight cattle perished.<sup>30</sup>

General J. M. Estill of Vallejo, commander of the 2nd Division of California Militia, overtook the advancing column about five miles north of Sonoma on August 14. He reported to McKee that he and his men were under orders from the governor to "furnish him protection to Clear Lake." Estill also sold a herd of 300 cattle to McKee to feed to the Indians — at a cost of \$3,000.<sup>31</sup> The expedition of 70 men, 140 horses and mules, progressed north, passing through the settlements and on into Indian country.

Meetings were held with the various tribal chiefs along McKee's route. At these meetings, the agent spoke through his interpreter, George Gibbs, and his comments to the chiefs basically followed this speech:

I come from the Great Father, the President, at Washington, the most powerful and the richest chief in this continent, and anything I may do in his name will be final and binding upon you, if he approves. That Great Father, my Chief, has conquered this country, and you are his children now, and subjects in all things to him. Brothers, we know you were the original owners of these broad lands, and the Spaniards, Mexicans, and Californians have been in turn your conquerors and masters, until finally the President, My Great Chief, has conquered and owns this country. The President has learned that his red children in California are at war with the whites and among themselves, are poor and ignorant, and he has now sent me among them to inquire into their condition.<sup>32</sup>



The chiefs were usually awed by McKee, by his kind words, and wanted to know who this Great Father, the President, was. They wanted to know where he lived, and if he was a good chief. McKee answered their questions, and the chiefs gave their approval of this Great Father and were happy to become his subjects.

The first of McKee's six treaties was made at Camp Lupiyuma, west of Clear Lake Valley on August 20, 1851. McKee gave all of Clear Lake Valley proper to eight tribes upon the condition that the tribes would live peaceably and would agree that all other tribes the President might send to the reservation would be received as brothers. Before reaching Humboldt Bay, another treaty was signed with Fernando Félix on August 22.

After much hardship, the McKee party reached the vicinity of Humboldt Bay on September 10. The party camped at the "Big Bend of the Eel River," about twelve miles from Humboldt City, expecting to remain in the area several days. McKee planned to resolve the problem between the Indians and the settlers of the Eel River Valley by establishing a reservation there.

The new settlers in the valley had taken the extremely fertile soil of the bottom lands along the river for farming, and twelve new farms had been established near present day Fortuna, Ferndale, and Loleta.<sup>33</sup> McKee, while visiting with these settlers, learned that many Indians made their homes in the bottom lands and that they could possibly be assembled for a meeting. McKee requested Charles W. Robinson to induce these Eel River Indians to visit his camp. (Robinson had married an Indian woman for reasons of peaceful cohabitation with the Indians while he developed his farm.) He and the other settlers had lived only a few months among the natives of this valley, making it impossible for them to establish a means of communicating verbally with the Indians. But through rigorous motions and expository remarks, Gibbs communicated with several Indians who left McKee's camp, with food and presents, to inform their brethren of McKee's invitation to sign a peace treaty. While waiting for the Indians to return, McKee visited Humboldt City. He met with the residents to obtain their opinion of what course he should follow toward settling the Indian-white problem in this area. They agreed with McKee that a government supervised reservation was indeed necessary. The agent returned to his camp the

following day to learn from Robinson that the Indians were fearful of accepting his invitation to council. The Indians believed "that some design was meditated for their destruction, or that some injury would be inflicted upon them."<sup>34</sup> Thus, no Indians came to McKee's camp and no treaty was signed with the Eel River Indians.

Several men from Humboldt City returned McKee's visit. Their purpose was to further discuss the present Indian-white problem. One of these men, a Mr. Dupern, formerly of Norfolk, Virginia, and a merchant in Humboldt City, agreed to descend the Eel River to its mouth, in the company of Charles Robinson and George Gibbs, to explore the country and to approximate boundaries for an Indian Reservation. Also, they would make a last attempt to induce the Indians to visit McKee's camp. The explorers spent one night with the Indians, but failed to gain the natives' acceptance of their proposition to make a treaty.<sup>35</sup>

The idea of a reservation was utmost in McKee's mind. The exploring party returned and declared to him that the lands south of the Eel River were found to be suitable for a reservation and would "interfere as little as possible with the whites already settled." McKee was thoroughly convinced that a reservation was in order and planned a reservation plot. The agent, finding it impossible to meet with the Indians, moved his camp to Humboldt City. There, with the citizens, he discussed his chosen site for the Indian lands.

The local residents agreed with McKee that the southlands were a logical location and should be selected at once because the white settlers would soon take the choice sections, leaving the Indians the uncultivable lands. Future conflicts would no doubt result if this took place. McKee plotted the following area for the Eel River Reservation:

That the portion of country lying between Eel River and the Mendocino mountains, described as follows, shall be reserved: commencing at a point upon the south side of the Eel River, opposite the small creek where on the agent and escort were encamped; thence running in a southwesterly direction parallel to the general trend of the coast, to the summit of the first range of mountains, ending at the northernmost point of cape Mendocino; thence along said summit to the Pacific Ocean; thence up said river in its windings to the place of beginning; together with the right of taking fish in any part of said river below the said place of beginning, and of fishing or digging for shellfish on any part of

the coast. Said reservation estimated to be thirteen miles in length on the coast, and eighteen miles inland — average length fifteen miles; estimated width six miles.<sup>36</sup>

A considerable portion of the reservation along the coast consisted of salt marsh, and a portion along the river was subject to overflow. But between the river and the mountains, where Ferndale stands, patches of land were found to be suitable for cultivation.

Charles Robinson accepted McKee's offer to be subagent of this new reservation. McKee gave Robinson six head of cattle, flour, and presents for those Indians who would live peacefully on the reserved lands. Robinson was instructed to break up six acres of land within the reservation; then he was to plant potatoes sometime during the coming fall. McKee gave the subagent \$140 to buy a "large prairie plow, ox-yokes, chains and a half a dozen axes and hoes," so that the agent "may obtain as much labor from the Indians as possible." Robinson's use of the oxen and tools to farm his personal lands would be his remuneration, but all items were to be held in trust as the property of the United States. To insure the intent of the Indian Agent's instructions, or in the event Robinson had an accident, "Messrs. Howard, Dobbins, and Durpren" from Humboldt City were to watch Robinson. There is no doubt that the cattle and equipment were desired by Robinson and other men to develop their homesteads, forgetting their obligations to the government and the Indians. When the news that the government had rejected the Eel River Reservation reached the Humboldt Region, any semblance of an existing reservation was lost, and the lands were taken up by homesteaders. Regardless, before McKee left the Humboldt Area he had sent a duplicate copy of the reservation plan to Howard, Dobbins, and Dupren to "be posted in some conspicuous place, so as to prevent anyone settling upon said land through mistake."<sup>37</sup>

McKee journeyed to Trinidad Bay as he had promised the Trinidad citizens in San Francisco in June. The Indians at this port called themselves the Kori Indians, with Oq-qua as chief. McKee assembled about fifty of these Indians, and "requested them to remove to and settle upon the reservation of land near the mouth of Eel River. Presents were distributed among them in the name of the President. But they made no reply." McKee only remained at Trinidad four

days. He returned to Union September 21 because Indian hostilities along the Klamath River demanded his immediate attention. He had received reports that Indians were killing mule drivers and stealing mules from pack trains bound to and from the Trinity mines. In retaliation, the men traveling with the caravans shot all Indians they saw, the innocent being killed more frequently than the guilty. Citizens warned McKee not to attempt to make a treaty with these hostile natives, "until a war party of whites could be sent against them, and until the Indians sue for peace." McKee, confident of his ability and relying on his past success with the Indians, felt that he could quiet the disturbances without resorting to war. Securing the services of a Mr. Thompson as interpreter, McKee sent him off to visit the Indians and to induce them into meeting the "treaty maker" from the "Great White Father" at the forks of the Klamath and Trinity rivers on October 1, 1851. The Treaty of Klamath, October 6, 1851, resulted, and hostilities were ended for the time being.<sup>38</sup> Had this treaty been honored by the federal government, the resulting Indian wars could possibly have been avoided.

Before McKee could finish his expedition because of the rains and before he could retrace his steps back to the Humboldt Coast, he concluded his fifth and sixth treaties with the Indians at the mouth of Salmon River: the Treaty of Coratem on October 12, 1851, and the Treaty of Scott's Valley on November 4, 1851. At Scott's Valley, several men from Shasta Butte City and Scott's Bar attended the council to witness the treaty making. As part of the agreement between the Indians and the whites, the tribes had two years to move to either the Klamath or Scott's Valley reservations. In the meantime the miners would be allowed to work their mining claims, and the farmers and ranchers would have time to remove themselves elsewhere. All the gentlemen present expressed their gratifications at the conclusion of the council, and they believed that the whites and the five thousand Indians would observe the treaties.<sup>39</sup>

Finishing his business, McKee retraced his steps to the coast. He arrived at Union on November 21 and spent three days disposing of the mule train and breaking-up the party. Thereafter, McKee proceeded to Humboldt City. No opportunity presented itself for leaving this city until December 8, when the steamer *Sea Gull* arrived on her way to Portland, Oregon. This vessel proved to be

the last opportunity to leave Humboldt for a while, and McKee concluded that he should proceed north to Portland to meet the *Columbia* on her way down the coast to San Francisco. The agent arrived in San Francisco on December 28, 1851.<sup>40</sup> Thus, a five month journey of exposure and great labor ended.

Reminiscing, McKee declared:

Considering the results which must happily follow, the expenses are trifling. Taken as a whole I doubt whether ever in the history of Indian negotiations in this or any other country as much work has been done as much positive good effected and as many evils averted with such comparative [*sic*] means at command.<sup>41</sup>

McKee's optimism proved to be disastrous for the Indians. His idealistic program "to feed the whole flock for a year than to fight for a week" only materialized after much destruction. McKee secured temporary peace by making presents and promises to the Indians — at times surpassing his limited powers to make and not execute treaties.

Well pleased with his expeditions, McKee suggested in a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that he return to Washington. He would bring the eighteen treaties that Barbour, Wozencraft, and he had made with the California Indians and explain them in person. The commissioner disagreed, even though he endorsed the treaties, but advised McKee to send the treaties posthaste to Washington.

The commissioner received the treaties, approved and delivered them to President Fillmore who signed and transmitted them with a message to the Senate where they were read June 7, 1852.<sup>42</sup> The Senate rejected the treaties, however, because of the immense claims against the federal government incurred by the agents. Furthermore, the attitude of the California legislature and its memorial to Congress that criticized the treaties persuaded the Senators to exclude them.

What had developed in California was an antitreaty coalition in the legislature. The Committee on Indian Affairs established by the assembly requested Redick McKee to appear before the committee to defend his reasoning for giving valuable lands to uncivilized Indians. Assemblymen charged McKee with giving the Indians large amounts of the finest farming and mineral lands in the state. In supporting his position, McKee berated their accusations, telling



the committee that it was uninformed and that all the reservations together would not probably exceed 1 percent of the whole area of California. The agent further expressed to the committee that

he had endeavored to exclude in every selection some goods lands, capable of subsisting the Indians; and it would have been a wretched policy as well as gross injustice, to have done otherwise. My object had been to give them lands which they could work, and upon the product subsist.<sup>43</sup>

The committee told McKee that the reservations he had given the Indians "would prove most ruinous to the prerogatives of both the Indian and white population." It was obvious to the assemblymen that when the white men wanted the reservation lands they would take them and the "Army of the United States could not expel the intruders."<sup>44</sup> McKee left Sacramento when the committee adjourned for the time being and retired to San Francisco to await another chance to force the issue at hand—the ratification of his treaties. The opportunity came in early March; but again the committee opposed his policy, and the assemblymen became quite "savage" in attacking McKee for giving valuable lands to "bloody savages." They would not change their attitude.

The California senators were waiting in Washington for the decision of the legislature.<sup>45</sup> Only the appeals of McKee and Edward F. Beale prevented the Senate from endorsing the assembly's motives and drafting a joint resolution completely rejecting the treaties. What the state legislature adopted was a memorial to Congress on the subject of the disposal of the treaties: in place of reservations, missions should be established throughout California, where the Indians could receive supplies and could farm the mission lands.<sup>46</sup> This design seemed to entertain that which had been attempted in the past. The result of this memorial would then be that Congress would reject the eighteen treaties. Edward F. Beale, the new Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California received a request from Washington to express his views as to the expediency of ratifying or rejecting the treaties. He stated what he believed:

To reject them without an effort to retain the Indians confidence and friendship would undoubtedly involve the State in a long and bloody war, disastrous and ruinous to her mining and commercial interests, and affecting, more or less, the prosperity of our whole country <sup>47</sup>

Regardless of McKee's and Beale's arguments, the Act of August 30, 1852, rejected the eighteen treaties. In place of the treaties, Congress appropriated \$100,000 for "the preservation of peace with those Indians who have been disposed of their lands in California, until permanent arrangements be made for their future settlement."<sup>48</sup>

President Fillmore was not satisfied with the Senate's decision: in his message to Congress he called attention to the fact that because "the Senate not having thought proper to ratify the treaties which had been negotiated with the tribes of Indians in California, our relations with them have been left in a very unsatisfactory condition." He continued: "the Indians are mere tenants at sufferance and are driven from place to place at the pleasure of the whites. Justice alike to our own citizens and to the Indians requires the prompt action of Congress."<sup>49</sup> Congress, which alone is vested with the power of disposing of the public domain, should have made the necessary provisions for reservations. The agents had attempted to conciliate the Indians by kindness and their efforts would have been successful in preventing to a degree the ensuing hostilities. But the consequence of rejecting the treaties was bloodshed, and the relation between the settlers and Indians appeared precarious.

Out of the \$100,000 appropriation to pacify the Indians, \$25,000 was specified for the purchase of suitable presents for the displaced Indians: small white, red, and blue porcelain beads; large colored glass beads; turkey red prints; and gay colored shawls.<sup>50</sup> Without assuming too much, it should be evident that these goods would be almost useless to poor, hungry, California Indians who needed supplies of food which ultimately would keep them from committing depredations against the white settlements. These supplies were not authorized, and the settlers continued pushing the Indians.

A new political movement to end the Indian problem in California evolved while the controversy within the government over ratification of the treaties progressed. Governor John Bigler directed this movement to remove the Indians entirely from the state. One would wonder to what place? A move east of the Sierra Nevada Mountains would be proof of the ignorance of those people advocating this measure. The region and country was counterpart to the coastal Indians' mode of living. Most of Nevada is waste and barren desert, where only a few Indians survived. A move north would

add thousands of Indians to the already overflowing population of Oregon. A move south would place the Indians directly in line of southern immigration, thus preparing the way for increased hostilities. The white man's treatment of the California Indians was no better and perhaps not much worse than in other parts of the United States. But the attitude of Bigler, however, was not a humane means of solving the Indian problem in California. The governor's message to the legislature in 1852 is not a happy one:

The Indians ought to be removed beyond the confines of the state. . . . I condemn the reservations established by the commissioners as wrong, fraught with evil to the Indians and to the whites, and calculated to produce constant collisions and impose heavy burdens upon the government.<sup>51</sup>

The state senate committee on Indian Affairs approved Bigler's message, and it supported his policy until the actions of Senator John J. Warner of San Diego, "one of the best qualified men in the state to speak to the Senate upon the subject of Indians," aroused the public. Many citizens supported Warner who recommended a careful re-examination of the treaties and of the reservation system. He added, that there were many areas in the state suitable for Indian reservations and that enough land existed for Anglo-Americans and for the Indians.<sup>52</sup>

The governor's policy had been regarded as unfavorable by the public. But on April 6, 1852, two senators presented a memorial to Bigler that gave additional support to his policy of extermination. James W. Denver, senator from Klamath and Trinity counties, and Royal T. Sprague, senator from Shasta County, wrote in the memorial that the problem of Indian affairs in the north forced the citizens to demand

more prompt, efficient and constant resistance, which they are no longer able to make. . . . This state of affairs cannot continue much longer. . . . We call on you as the Executive of the State, to demand from the commander of the United States forces in California troops sufficient to afford protection and to punish the depredators, or if that cannot be done, then order out the militia for that purpose.<sup>53</sup>

This communication gave Bigler grounds to start his campaign against the Indians. If he could not remove them, he could extermi-

nate them. The governor sent this memorial and his personal letter to General Ethan A. Hitchcock, Commander of the United States Army on the Pacific Coast at San Francisco. In his letter, the governor told Hitchcock that the California Indians had the ferocity of South Sea cannibals and that they were born with a hatred for the white race. Furthermore, the two races could not live together and have peace, and the solution to the problem was the evacuation or destruction of the Indians, to be done by the central government because the Constitution guaranteed this service to the people. If the central government was neglectful in this duty, there was one alternative: the people would fight their own battles "to maintain their independence as a sovereign State and to protect themselves from intestine troubles, as well as from the incursions of merciless and savage enemies."<sup>54</sup>

These statements, precipitated by Bigler's prejudices and the memorial, are examples of his enmity towards the Indians. They are based upon emotionalism and not investigation by the government. One observation that the governor could have made would have been acknowledgment of the fact that immigration into California had not been gradual. The Indians had been pushed before a rapidly advancing civilization and every part of the country had suddenly been penetrated and explored, leaving the natives in the immediate proximity to the whites. Consequently, the Indian endured great sacrifices and loss of property. But the new settler's experiences dealing with Indians in the East no doubt justified this development.

General Hitchcock, in his reply to the governor on April 10, 1852, wrote that he had not been aware of extreme Indian problems in the northern counties. He realized that all parts of the state had problems, but he had believed that there was no need for additional troops in any one section of the state. He was thoroughly convinced of this notion, until several citizens from Humboldt Bay informed him that a military post was desperately needed somewhere near the bay or near the Klamath River. The citizens stated that "such a post would be most favorable for holding in check not only the Indians, but the whites who are so ready to create disturbances on the slightest provocation."<sup>55</sup> The general sympathized with the citizens and promised them that at his earliest opportunity "he would establish a military post at some suitable point within those northern counties."<sup>56</sup>

In addition, Hitchcock disclosed to the governor that Redick McKee had also been told in correspondence from the Humboldt Bay region informing him of brutal outrages committed by whites upon the generally harmless and inoffensive Indians living near the Bay and the Eel River. McKee understood that these bloody massacres of the Indians would continue unless Hitchcock sent a small detachment of troops to establish reservations near the Eel and Klamath rivers; that a depot for supplies should also be established on Humboldt Bay; and that by means of small pack trains regular communications could be maintained between the reservations every two or three weeks.<sup>57</sup> The general included McKee's remarks in his letter of April 18.

Hitchcock, however, agreed with the governor that the Indians and whites could not live together and that the whites must come into full possession of the country. He also realized that he could not give full protection to the isolated northern counties because his troops were too few in number. He had received five hundred men, but he feared their desertion if they were stationed at isolated coastal posts. Bigler was pleased with what he read in Hitchcock's letter and wrote a lengthy reply on April 12, 1852, manifesting appreciation for the general's attitude and requesting the general to make the best use of military force under his command to protect the citizens until additional troops arrived. The governor closed his letter by asking Hitchcock to keep the capitol informed of what steps the military would take to terminate the difference in the northern counties.<sup>58</sup>

While the correspondence between Bigler and Hitchcock progressed, McKee attempted once again to help the Indians and to have reservations and a military fort established in the Humboldt Region.

By letter he informed Governor Bigler, as he had informed Hitchcock, of the problems between the whites and Indians on the Eel River, but from a more reasonable point of view. The Indians on the Eel had been accused of killing two white men living in an isolated place, but no investigation of the murders had been made. Nonetheless, the whites had organized into several parties and planned to destroy the Indians. A communication to the citizens of Union and Humboldt Bay makes evident their plans:



The Indians have murdered two of our citizens, under circumstances truly horrible, and at a meeting of the citizens of the valley it was unanimously agreed to commence war upon them immediately, and we the undersigned were chosen to devise some plan by which we can strike an effective blow upon them. On Monday 19th of the present month at the break of day is the day we have decided to make the attack on them. By attacking them at all points simultaneously one party moving up while the other moves down the Eel River until we meet. We hope to clear the river of them entirely. Lets thoroughly break up this den of thieves and murderers.

Very Respectfully Yours

B. F. Jameson

T. D. Felt

Kennerly Dobyns<sup>59</sup>

Attacking the Indians near the bay, the whites slaughtered many of them. The party then proceeded to Eel River and renewed their work of death and killed fifteen or twenty more defenseless natives. Not one of them had been suspected of being involved in the murder of the two white men. McKee related other cases of "wanton murder" of the Indians to Bigler, which, wrote McKee, "if it did not endanger the peace of the northern frontier, it had at all events brought lasting disgrace upon the American name."<sup>60</sup> He suggested to the governor that some measures were necessary to vindicate the laws of the country as well as those of humanity by bringing some of the white desperadoes to punishment.

Governor Bigler gave McKee's letter to the senators whose counties were involved in the Indian problem. These senators did not accept McKee's notions of "wanton murder of the Indians by the whites." McKee believed that the activities of the whites were purposely not noticed by those senators who wanted the Indians removed or exterminated. The agent proposed that the senate make an investigation of the massacres which would prove the validity of his statements. The senators countered by stating that they were well informed as to what was taking place in the north. If there was any contradiction, any special credit should be given to the statements of gentlemen because "they happened to be members of the legislature which was a position in which McKee's experience did not lead him to concur." McKee denied that he had made unsound reflections against the character of the senators; but his final remarks to them suggested

that "nothing was to be expected of the government, except the old state of affairs and the war of extermination will continue."<sup>61</sup>

Redick McKee and the politicians exchanged words over the controversial issue of the Indians, while Edward F. Beale and General Hitchcock worked towards a plan of permanent arrangement for the Indians and whites — based upon McKee's reservation plan. Beale submitted a detailed proposal for a new program to Washington in October, 1852. In part it contained the following proposals:

A system of military posts to be established on reservations, for the convenience and protection of the Indians; these reservations to be regarded as military reservations or government reservations. Each reservation to contain a military establishment, the number of troops being in proportion to the population of the tribes.<sup>62</sup>

This program was eventually adopted by Washington and California. The federal government appropriated \$250,000 towards the formation of five military reservations, garrisoned by federal troops and California volunteers: Nome Lackee, Klamath, Tejon, Mendocino, and Fresno.

The humanitarian efforts of McKee, Beale, and several citizens of Humboldt County, as opposed to the destructive efforts of McDougal, Bigler, and several members of the California legislature, were soon to be realized: the War Department would respond with ample troops so that General Hitchcock could fulfill his promise to the citizens of Union and Humboldt City. He would send two companies to Humboldt Bay in January, 1853, to test the new policy that had evolved from the work of Beale and Hitchcock and from McKee's suggestion to Hitchcock that there was a need for reservations and for a supply depot to be established on Humboldt Bay.

#### NOTES

1. U. S. Congress, *House Executive Documents*, 1848, Doc. 17, serial 573, pp. 182-345.

2. Herbert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884), VII, 482  
By December, 1853 the war debt amounted to \$771,190

3. John W. Caughy, *California* (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940), p. 325. A Democrat Congressman remarked, "the three agents were entirely ignorant, not only of the country, but especially of the native and the habits of the Indians. The agents were to protect the people of California from the Indians."

4. 9 *U. S. Stat. At. L.* (1850), 558.

5. U. S. Congress, *House Executive Documents*, 1850, Doc. 1, Serial 595, p. 152; U. S. Congress, Senate, *Department of Interior Report*, 1853, Doc. 4, Serial 688, pp. 8-9.

6. 9 *U. S. State. At L.* (1850), 572; U. S. Congress, *Senate Executive Documents*, 1853, Doc. 61, Serial 620, pp. 1-2; Alban Hoopes, *Indian Affairs and Their Administration, 1849-1860* (Oxford, 1932), p. 44.

7. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 53; U. S. Congress, *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 1866, Doc. 37, Serial 1239, p. 1.

9. William H. Ellison, "The Federal Indian Policy in California," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. IX, 48; Charles Coan, *Federal Indian Policy in The Pacific Northwest, 1849-1870*. (Berkeley, 1920); Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VIII, 456; Hoopes, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

Because of the high cost to subdue the Indians, the California Legislature authorized \$1,100,000, as bond issues, payable semiannually, to liquidate the \$924,295.65 debt accumulated fighting the Indians by 1854.

10. *California Statutes* (1851), p. 530.

11. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 225; Chad L. Hoopes, "Fort Humboldt" (Masters's Thesis, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1963), pp. 37-48.

12. Hoopes, "Fort Humboldt," p. 43.

13. 9 *U. S. Stat. At L.* (1851), p. 572.

This act also provided \$6,750 pay for each Commissioner from October 1, 1850 to June 30, 1851.

14. *Ibid.*

15. U. S. Congress, *Senate Executive Documents*, 1852, Doc. 16, Serial 613, p. 486.

16. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

17. Serial 613, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 497.

19. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

"Many Indians had been dispossessed of their old homes. These unfortunate victims of white man's land hunger and congressional inefficiency were poorly provided for by an appropriations of \$50,000 until permanent arrangements be made for their future settlement." Hoopes, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

20. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

22. *10. U. S. State. At L.* (1852), p. 56.

23. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

24. Ellison, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59; Hoopes, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

In 1854, Congress allowed the claim of John C. Fremont for \$183,825; in 1856 the claim of O. M. Wozencraft for \$7,000; in 1860 the claim of Samuel J. Hensley for \$96,276. Other claims were not allowed. And only part of McKee's claim was allowed.

25. U. S. Congress, *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 1871, Doc. 102, Serial 1463, p. 4.

26. U. S. Congress, *Senate Report*, 1870, Report 20, Serial 1409, pp. 1-3; U. S. Congress, *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 1866, Doc. 37, Serial 1239, pp. 1-3.

27. Journal of Major W. W. Wessells in U. S. Congress, *Senate Executive Documents*, 1853, Doc. 76, Serial 906, pp. 59-68.

28. The itinerary of McKee's expedition is shown on a map in the National Archives, No. 47 — "Sketch of the Northwestern parts of California accompanying a journal of the expedition of Redick McKee, compiled by George Gibbs in 1851." Thomas Seabring had seen a member of the Gregg party in 1850. He had attempted to return to Humboldt Bay the Spring of 1850 with wagons that he was forced to abandon along the route along the Eel and Russian rivers. This route became the Sonoma Trail and used extensively for opening the Humboldt Region.

29. Henry R. Schoolcraft, *History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of The United States, Part III* (Philadelphia, 1853), 99-177.

George Gibbs' Journal of the McKee Expedition is in this volume. Gibbs was attached to the Indian Commission in Oregon and was acquainted with the Chinook language. He was also a practical topographical engineer.

30. Serial 613, *op. cit.*, p. 498.

31. John McKee's "Journal of Minutes" of the expedition from Sonoma through Northern California — August 9, 1851 to December 29, 1851. *Alta California* (San Francisco), September 3, 1851, "Account of The Doings of Major General Estill and his staff of The California State Militia."

32. Journal of Minutes, *op. cit.*, August 18, 1851.

33. The "Big Bend of the Eel River", according to the Gibbs' Map, was located in the present area of Fortuna, where Rohner Creek empties into the Eel River. McKee called it Communion Creek. M.A. Parry, "The History of Loleta" (Master's Thesis, Humboldt State College, June, 1963), pp. 1-4.

34. Journal of Minutes, *op. cit.*, September 11, 1851

35. *Ibid.*, September 12, 1851.
36. Journal of Minutes, *op. cit.*, September 16, 1851.  
The George Gibbs' Map gives a clear outline of the reservation plat.
37. Journal of Minutes, *op. cit.*, September 16-17, 1851.  
The Journal gives the details of the three men's duties.
38. Journal of Minutes, *op. cit.*, September 18, 1851.
39. *Ibid.*, November 4, 1851.
40. Schoolcraft, *op. cit.*, p. 177.
41. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 284.
42. Rockwell D. Hunt, *California and Californians* (San Francisco, 1930), II, 448.
43. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 248.
44. *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Congress, 1st Session, Pt. 3, p. 2173.
45. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 296.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 308.  
McKee wrote to President Fillmore, "My opinion is, that unless our general policy is carried out in good faith, there will very shortly be a general Indian war on the frontiers of the state. The Indians must be fed for awhile or killed off." California, *Journal of the Senate*, 1852, pp. 44-64.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 329.
48. *10 U. S. State. At L.*  
In January, 1905, the injunction to secrecy of the Treaties was removed. The unratified treaties had quietly reposed in the archives of Congress, forgotten by everyone but the Indians. At present, all eighteen of them are in a bundle in the Office of Indian Affairs, General Files, California, I 76/1852. Clipped to each treaty is a letter of rejection by the Senate. Hoopes, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
49. U. S. Congress, *Senate Executive Documents*, 1852. "President's Annual Message, December 6, 1852. Serial 673, p. 10.
50. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 360.
51. *Journal of the Legislature of the State of California*, 1852, pp. 21-74.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 537-604.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 703-704.
54. *Ibid.*, p. 705.
55. *Alta California*, March 21, 1853.
56. *Journal of California Legislature*, 1852, p. 708.
57. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 318.



This suggestion evolved to the birth of Fort Humboldt and many smaller camps and posts, supplied by Fort Humboldt.

58. *Journal of California Legislature*, 1852, p. 711.

59. Copied from the original letter dated January 15, 1852, Mendocino Valley and addressed to "Fellow Citizens and People of Union town and Humboldt Bay." Clark Museum, Eureka, California.

60. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1852), 708.

61. *Journal of California Legislature*, 1852, pp. 396-397.

62. Serial 688, *op. cit.*, p. 274. Hoopes, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-68.



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# Costansó's 1794 Report on Strengthening New California's Presidios

*Translated by* MANUEL P. SERVÍN

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In the March issue of the *Quarterly* Don Miguel Costansó's contributions to the founding and the subsequent development of Spanish Alta California were emphatically but briefly presented in the article "Miguel Costansó: California's Forgotten Founder." Unfortunately such an article, no matter how well documented, had to be extremely limited and could not reveal the scope and depth of Costansó's ideas and measures for overcoming the problems and dangers confronting Spain's neglected province of Alta California. It is to make to the reader vitally aware of Costansó's talented ability not only to analyze Alta California's immediate and far-ranging problems and dangers but also to delineate sound, realistic solutions for them that the "Report of Don Miguel Costansó to the Viceroy, the Marqués de Branciforte, on the Plan for Strengthening the Presidios of New California, 1794,"<sup>1</sup> is now translated and published in English.

Costansó's "Report to the Viceroy" is a penetrating document. In it, the Engineer promptly recognizes the poor state of Alta California's defenses and the immediate measures necessary to remedy the situation. He, however, goes much deeper than this in analyzing the Province's problems. His evaluation of the English threat and his appreciation of the British talent for profitable and effective colonization are notable for their objectivity. Perhaps of greater significance is his extended explanatory recommendation that Alta California be populated by *gente de razón* (Hispanicized people of mixed blood) in order to stem English designs, to help civilize the Indians, and to encourage the economical and mercantile development of the Province.

Because Costansó's findings and recommendations were so enlightened and could have helped to stymie North American imperial-

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istic ambitions during the period of Manifest Destiny by making the Province truly Mexican, it is puzzling to note that this translator has not found an English translation of it. Moreover, references to it, both in monographs and general works on California history, are rare, except for those by Francis F. Guest, O.F.M., and H. H. Bancroft.<sup>2</sup> Yet manuscript copies of the "Report" can be found in the Bancroft Library at Berkeley and the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, this "Report to the Viceroy", along with Costansó's other reports on California, have been exquisitely transcribed and published by Don José Porrúa Turanzas in Volume V of the Colección Chimalistac, *Noticias y Documentos Acerca de las Californias, 1764-1795* (Madrid, 1959).

I am grateful to Porrúa Editorial, S.A., not only for publishing the "Report to Viceroy", but also allowing me to utilize his published version, which is an exact transcript of the manuscript at the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, for my translation. At the same time I am also thankful to Professor Donald C. Cutter who so graciously read and corrected both the translation of the "Report to the Viceroy" and the previous article, "Miguel Costansó: California's Forgotten Founder."<sup>4</sup>

REPORT OF DON MIGUEL COSTANSÓ TO THE VICEROY,  
THE MARQUÉS DE BRANCIFORTE, ON THE PLAN FOR  
STRENGTHENING THE PRESIDIOS OF NEW CALIFORNIA

1794

Most Excellent Sir:<sup>5</sup>

In your superior decree of last September 20th, Your Excellency was pleased to order me to report whatever thoughts I might have on the plans for strengthening the presidios of New California, sending me for this purpose the file of this project with the official communication of the 22nd of the same month.

According to the file, the King keeps four presidial companies in those settlements — namely, one in the port of San Diego, another along the Santa Barbara Channel, the remaining two in Monterey and in the port of San Francisco. In all they amount to 218 men, including the officers, sergeants, corporals, and one surgeon.

This small number of soldiers guard the vast territory extending from 32½ to 38 degrees north latitude, i.e., from the port of San Diego to that of San Francisco.<sup>6</sup> The coastline between these two points extends more than 200 leagues,<sup>7</sup> provides many bays, coves, and anchorages with good shelter and depth for vessels of all sizes.

In view of this simple description, Your Excellency's natural perceptiveness will

easily comprehend that the troops who presently occupy New California cannot carry out any other duties than those originally intended; namely, to contribute to reducing the numerous pagans of those regions to a civilized and Christian life by making them respect the religious functions and the office of the ministers of the Holy Gospel, to preserve peace among the new Christian vassals of our August Sovereign, and to maintain the greatest harmony between them and the pagan tribes who occupy those lands.

Consequently, whenever the strengthening of those presidios is discussed, the creation of a corps of troops for garrisoning and defending the presidios that are to be built must be considered imperative. There must be sent in advance workers who possess different skills pertaining to the construction of the buildings which have been planned and deemed necessary.

If the new construction which we are considering is to be funded, the cost that such an undertaking demands and the expenses that it will place upon New Spain's Royal Treasury, which is already burdened with so many urgent matters, must be understood.

A few regular batteries of eight cannons of twelve-pound shot, which will supposedly have breastworks made of dirt faced with adobe and which have been proposed for defending the entrances to the ports of San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco, will cost, according to the prudent judgment of experienced and practical men, about eight thousand pesos each. It must be inferred from this that a great expenditure would devolve on the Royal Treasury from the building and construction of castles or forts of brick and mortar, notwithstanding how curtailed the costs may be thought — the respective buildings must billet the garrison, be storehouses for the safe-keeping of munitions, foodstuffs, and other related materials.

The construction of the above-stated batteries, which in my judgment are most necessary, will necessarily give rise to greater expenses than just those involved in construction because each presidio must be assigned a number of trained and experienced artillerymen who are considered necessary to man eight cannons. Concerning this point, if to Your Excellency the need for these batteries seems urgent, you could speak to Brigadier Don Pablo Sánchez<sup>8</sup> whose knowledge in such matters is very well known.

Up till now I have only touched upon those problems which are apparent at first sight and which place obstacles in carrying out the plan of strengthening the presidios of New California — the problems which I presently view as insurmountable because of the great expenditures that are currently being made by the Royal Treasury. The consideration of these problems, however, is not important at this time. What is important now is to find some means by which to avoid, without greater expenses, the dangers and evils that now threaten us and to become jointly more aware of the nearness of the foreigners already settled in the coasts of New California.

Actually, we have knowledge of the English nation's great activity, its boldness and audacity in carrying out and directing its enterprises, and its customary expertness in the sciences related to navigation and to the ability of making its

colonies prosperous through commerce. We know that they have shown great interest in the fur trade, an abundant product and enterprise along those coasts where they have discovered innumerable ports, bays, gulfs, and channels that everywhere make available shelter and anchorage to their ships.

We also know that catches of every type of fish are most abundant; that the climate is healthful; that the lands are suitable for crops of all types; that they are pleasant; that they are well forested with trees suitable for the construction of buildings and ships; and that the English have the means of gathering and transporting in their ships as great a number of people from Greater China as they wish in order to settle them in those new lands — whose ownership and discovery they claim — and to make them vassals of Great Britain.

Nor can we ignore that from that vast empire they will enjoy many benefits and advantages for carrying out their plans because its natives are generally industrious, attracted to commerce, and inclined to practicing the mechanical arts and farming.

From Canton the English will supply their colonists at lowest prices with wearing apparel, utensils, furniture, and other necessary things for living. The English trading posts, which have been established in that port by request of the British Admiralty and by self-interest and convenience, co-operate with everyone without any contributions or funds from government.

The first commercial expeditions to the Northwest Coast of this America were made from Macao and Canton.<sup>9</sup> After a brief period some London businessmen became directly interested in the fur trade, and formed a company under the auspices and protection of the government for highly capitalized enterprises as is evident and is well documented from the papers found in Captain Colnett's possession when he was apprehended in the port of Nutka<sup>10</sup> (with the ship he commanded) and sent to San Blas by Don José Martínez,<sup>11</sup> *piloto graduado*<sup>12</sup> of that [naval] department.

Everything is favorable to England's plans, and it will certainly know how to take advantage of such propitious circumstances. And, in this case, how great will be the wealth of these new colonies in a few years?

It has only been a few years since His Most Excellent Lordship, the Duque de Almodóvar,<sup>13</sup> discharging the post of Minister Plenipotentiary in St. Petersburg for the affairs of our Court informed the King by means of an official dispatch (a copy of which is before me) to His Most Excellent Lordship, Don Ricardo Wall,<sup>14</sup> former Minister of Foreign Affairs, of the Russian maritime expeditions. And, referring to one of the articles in his classified instructions, which concerned the discoveries made by that nation along the western coast of the American continent, he expressed himself in this manner:

In reference to the danger that we may fear from the Russian maritime expeditions to our America, it seems so remote at the present that it scarcely warrants consideration. I do not know whether one can truthfully say that Spaniards should fear the Russians on the coasts of America as much as the Russians should fear the Spaniards on those of Asia; that it is probably more likely that the Americans might come and conquer the Siberian coasts than for the Russians to be able to do the same in our America. . . . These voyages serve more for the advancement of geographical knowledge than for enlarging the empire.



In the centuries to come something else may occur. The revolutions that occur in the world are very odd. If those eastern provinces (Siberia and Kamchatka) should become civilized, change their system of laws and customs, and take advantage of their situation, great events which we should neither imagine nor fear today could occur.

The revolutions of this world are in fact very strange. And, although some may present foreboding or solid reasons for predicting future events, the political events are accurately predicted, especially those related to purpose and nature, but regarding the manner or accidental occurrences, predictions generally turn out to be most illusory.

His Lordship, the Duque de Almodóvar, was partly a witness to the events which he judged to be possible but only in a most remote manner and in the centuries to come. With a few more years of life an event that he could neither be expected nor foreseen could have been witnessed: he would have seen the coasts of America invaded by another nation much more dangerous to us than Russia, and, finally, he would have seen it attempt explorations whose object certainly was not limited to the advancement of geographical knowledge.

From the very first moment in which America was discovered by the Spaniards, it became an object of lust for European nations — all attempted to gain possession of some part of its beautiful territory, either on the continent or in the adjoining islands. The greatest and most beautiful part was occupied by the Crown of Spain by right of primacy. And, after more than two hundred and fifty years in which it has kept intact the immense regions which it acquired, they can properly be called the fountain of all wealth and prosperity. Would to God that our most remote posterity may see its sovereignty perpetuated in the glorious hands of our August Sovereigns.

In order to perpetuate this fortunate event, I think that it is of utmost importance that there now be utilized the most opportune and efficient means for preventing the dire consequences that will necessarily result from our omission or indifference in such an important matter and thereby promptly neutralize the attempts which the enemies of the Monarchy will naturally make in order to grab off whatever part they can of our best possessions, to which end it is to be feared the English settlements in California may be directed.

The measure of strengthening the presidios located in the ports of San Diego, Monterey, and San Francisco, besides being most important, as I pointed out before, is perhaps somewhat risky because each fortification is situated in an area devoid of resources and help and the garrison of which does not know upon whom to rely for aid due to the lack of population. It will therefore have to surrender, even after a most vigorous defence has been made, and it will necessarily be much more difficult and costlier to regain the lost fort and its surrounding territory.

Therefore, it is my judgment that the first thing that we should consider is populating the territory. Of what value are immense areas of territory to us if we do not populate them? Of nothing more than an insufferable load without the least expectancy of receiving any benefit.

There have been, and are being, spent immense sums on the propagation of the Catholic Faith among the pagan Indians of this continent. Missionaries, who

proclaimed to them the Holy Gospel, who have been sustained in their ministry by deference to the armed military, have been sent to them. This enterprise cannot be praised enough and is representative of the religious zeal of our August Monarchs. As new missions are established, new troops are raised and presidios erected. Nevertheless, the old foundations continue to exist, and the Royal Treasury is being eroded limitlessly. There are missions which are over one hundred years old, and we still see them staffed by Father-Ministers and by the same military escort, as in the beginning. But it has to be this way because in those reductions there are scarcely any other inhabitants except those native to the territory whose inconstancy must be continually observed so that the restless ones do not flee and disturb the tranquility of the land.

In order to avoid the problems and the setbacks that have developed and to have the missions prosper, to instruct the Indians in arts which are demanded by society, to civilize and to make them more useful vassals to the Monarchy, there are no means more efficacious than from the beginning of a new establishment to introduce among them *gente de razón* (as European Spaniards, the Creoles, and the people of mixed blood are called in order to differentiate them from the native Indians), provided they are hardworking and useful. This is the measure upon which the Indians of those vast lands must depend. The governors who are above the missionary priest and the captains of the presidios of the provinces of this New Spain have clamored, and are clamoring, for it — especially those of the Californias, Upper and Lower, or Old and New. It is known to me that Colonel Pedro Fages, who has been governor of the Californias and is now residing in this capital, has proposed this useful plan on various occasions and that by his efforts this Superior Government has sent some families of craftsmen to Monterey and San Diego.

In order to obtain these inexpressable benefits which are derived from this measure and which pertain to the moral, physical, political, and Christian aspects, it is not necessary that the Royal Treasury immediately pay costly expenses. It will be enough to send annually in the ships which sail from San Blas to those settlements some families who can conveniently travel by sea and to give each individual a naval ration for the voyage to ship's port to which the ships go, and from there another stipend until they are deposited at their final destination. To what has been said, it is necessary to add the corresponding subsidy of instruments and useful tools for his respective profession or occupation because such a measure is most helpful in attaining the principal goal.

The King gives a soldier arms for the defence of the nation. It is not less compatible with the pious intentions of His Majesty that for the growth of his kingdom the new settlers receive tools and farming equipment. By such a measure the Indians, aided by the paternal love and Christian zeal of His Majesty, will receive a training capable of making them as happy in temporal matters as in the spiritual; and, as time passes, those distant lands will be seen to prosper, benefitting the state. But without trades and industry, the Indians will never be able to be men and useful vassals.

Once Spanish or mixed-blood master craftsmen and colonists are stationed in the missions, they can be supported from the mission's temporalities by assigning to them a ration or food in proportion to the size of their families and by paying them in accordance to the effort they exert in teaching the Indians and in accordance to the things which they produce that were made by them or their apprentices. The economic system of the Reverend Father Missionaries and the fine method which they utilize in administering the temporalities in New California assures us beforehand of the success of these measures which they themselves desire and which they have longed for in their consultations where they sought the happiness of their spiritual sons.

Experience has demonstrated the fertility of the Spaniards and of the persons of mixed blood of this kingdom is much greater than that of the Indians. Perhaps this is so because when they are reduced to a civilized life or to a less wild existence, they procreate much less; or because when they intermarry with Spaniards or white persons, there is generally produced from the second or third generation some individuals who barely have a trace of Indian since they are reared among Spaniards and their language, habits, and customs no longer differ from ours.

For this reason it is evident that the number of Indians in New Spain decreases at the rate that the mixed-blood multiply. The same thing will happen in mission towns if families of farmers and craftsmen are placed there in the manner which has been proposed. The Indians will be civilized much faster. In a period of twenty to twenty-five years the missions will be towns where parishes can be established. They will cease being a burden to the Treasury, and their citizens will reach a point of contributing large sums to the Royal Treasury.

Another most useful measure for development of population in the Californias is the one which His Majesty dictated and prescribed over ten years ago in the royal order to the Governor and Captain General of the Philippine Islands by the classified mail of the Secretariat of the Indies. In it he states that the ship which sails from the port of Cavite for Acapulco, when making its landfall on the coast of New Spain must cast anchor at Monterey and disembark at that location all the discharged American soldiers from those islands who voluntarily wish to remain, either for the purpose of joining the presidial companies or of becoming settlers pursuing farming or some other profession. Tracts of land must be allotted to them, as must be assumed from the vastness and fertility of the territory. A very large fine was imposed by this sovereign decree on a ship's captain who willingly ignored the punctual fulfillment of the royal order. It was fulfilled for the first three or four years, but then, for some reasons which I do not know, it was not obeyed.

Nevertheless, the landfall at Monterey was not of less benefit to the Philippine Galleon than to the colony. The crew and passengers found there fresh food which is naturally longed for after a long voyage. The sick sailors, as a result of the good care, healthful climate, air, and water, got well in a few days, became accustomed to the area, and applied themselves to fishing and other labor pertaining to their occupation that benefitted the colony. The soldiers' and the citizens' families

obtained every type of clothing in exchange for a few gifts of food and other objects made in the province; the presidios, of many goods and arms which they lacked and which the ship did not urgently need.

It is not necessary to consider the great advantage which would have been derived by the colonies of New California, if this already indicated method of providing the means of increasing its population had not been interrupted. This method, in my judgment, is the most simple of all that can be thought up and the least burdensome on the Royal Treasury. When the last measure was decreed, no difficulty was experienced in its execution, and I do not believe that any exists today. For this reason I consider it most appropriate for Your Excellency's zeal and for His Majesty's benefit to decree again the prompt obedience to the royal order.

Above all, it would be of the greatest importance to initiate the navigation of the coasts of Sonora, New Galicia, the Californias, and in general of all the coasts of the South Sea that are part of this Viceroyalty. This would encourage its inhabitants to construct small ships, grant them franchises and freedom to trade among themselves since they have a mutual need for each other, since they are brothers and vassals of the same sovereign, and since navigation and commerce must be viewed as the poles around which the populating and the prosperity of any province must revolve. It pains one to think that in these vast North American coasts of the Pacific Ocean the King does not possess a single vassal who is the owner or proprietor of one sloop, schooner, or some other type of coastal vessel, especially since in previous years, when there was freedom of trade among New Spain, Guatemala, and Peru, there were various shipbuilders capable of carrying out maritime enterprises. A considerable number of sailors could be seen, and there was an abundant number of different towns which took an interest in that business. But the business interests of Cádiz — fearing that that shipping would diminish the demand of its products, when it could only have an opposite and generally favorable effect — managed to destroy that budding enterprise very early by repeatedly making unjust claims, and the vassals engaged in the nascent endeavor, who were forced to seek another type of livelihood for their families, began neglecting shipping as well as abandoning coastal life. These are the reasons why the depopulation of the coast is noticeable and why tremendous expenses have also been suffered by the Crown during the last twenty-five years when voyages and explorations have been undertaken in this continent where there is a total lack of sailors, naval yards, and supplies for the construction of ships — excepting lumber which is spontaneously produced in the forests in many places.

Maritime trade on the West Coast does not exist today. And as long as this inactivity continues to persist, the Royal Treasury will not receive any funds from it. But if shipping is promoted and franchises are granted, the demand for goods and merchandise from Europe and from the nation will increase immediately. This demand, it can be assumed, will contribute somewhat to the Royal Treasury. As time passes this trade will be able to contribute proportionately by means of the

taxes which will be imposed in accordance to its growth and to the profit it renders to those engaged in it.

The colonists of the Californias will be able to have a market for their materials and their manufactured goods. Fishing for sardine, salmon and tuna — which are extraordinarily abundant in those coasts and are unknown fishes in New Galicia<sup>15</sup> — will be an item of profit to them, if they learn to preserve and cure them with salt. The profit from ham and salted pork, from flour and legumes can be sold at San Blas and other torrid areas at better prices than those in effect today, the freight costs of those foods transported down to the coast from the interior of the continent are high and make those foods scarce. The silver and gold mines of Old California, which are barely worked because of the scarcity of workers, of foodstuffs, and all commercial products, will then be profitably worked for the benefit of the owners, of the public, and of the Royal Treasury.

The preservation of the Sovereign's proprietorship and ownership of these continental coasts is at present one of the most interesting and important matters. It was for this purpose that presidios were established in Upper California, that the port and shipyards were established in the Naval Department of San Blas,<sup>16</sup> and that ships were constructed to carry the settlers and the supplies which they annually need to the ports of Monterey and San Francisco. It was with the precise objective of obtaining accurate knowledge of those lands, of the condition and character of their coasts, ports, islands, and other circumstances, as well as of investigating the voyages and activities of foreigners who have always been eager to occupy them, that the King has at different times sent officials, pilots, builders, and crews of his Royal Fleet. These most costly expeditions have been made by the order of His Majesty so that there have been very few enterprises which have been more highly recommended or which have enjoyed greater diligence.

This is what I consider sufficient at this time in order to make these colonies flourish and to prepare them to defend themselves and later to depend on themselves. In case of war, however, other measures can be taken, such as the arming of ships stationed at San Blas and the shipping in them of the troops and forces needed to combat the ambitious pretensions of the Monarchy's enemies.

Finally, Most Excellent Sir, the solicitude of Your Excellency in promoting whatever is conducive for safeguarding those lands is most proper, and for this reason I have desired not to omit mentioning any measures which might have come to mind, relying upon my incomplete understanding, the knowledge acquired on my voyages and observations of the conditions that I have attentively seen and investigated. If my ideas should lack precision and accuracy, Your Excellency will correct them by relying on his well-known knowledge, being indulgent with me because what moved me to present them was my zeal for serving the best interest of His Majesty and the public.

May keep Your Excellency many years. Mexico. October 17, 1794.

Miguel Costansó

His Most Excellent Lordship  
The Marqués de Branciforte

## NOTES

1. "The Report to the Viceroy" at the Bancroft Library was entitled ["Informe de S. or D. Miguel Costansó al Exmo. S. or Virrey de Branciforte sobre el proyecto de fortificar los presidios de la N. California"]. The copy at the Biblioteca Nacional contains no title and is found in a bound volume with other manuscripts.

The title used in this text and translation is taken from *Noticias y documentos acerca de las Californias, 1764-1795* (Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1959).

2. See Florian Guest, "The Establishment of the Villa de Branciforte," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLI (March, 1962), 29-50, and H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1884), I, 602-603.

3. The call number at the Bancroft Library is M-M 401; at the Biblioteca Nacional it is Documento 19, 266 of the *Papeles varios referentes a México*.

4. Since the article was written, I have learned that Costansó died in Mexico City on 27 September 1814. See Joachim Blake to Señor Secretario de Estado, Madrid, 3 June 1815, in Miguel Costansó, Expediente Personal 1,813, Archivo General Militar, Segovia. According to his service records, which give his age and the date in which it was written, Costansó was born in 1740 or 1741 in the city of Barcelona. See Guerra Moderna, Legajo 7272, Cuaderno 9, Archivo de Simancas.

Unfortunately two errors crept into my manuscript: 1) Portolá was never governor of Sinola as stated on page 3; and 2) it was not in September of 1793, as stated on page 14, but in 1794 that Viceroy "decreed that he receive recommendations for strengthening the presidios of Alta California."

5. The Viceroy, of New Spain, who in 1794 happened to be the Sicilian Marqués de Branciforte, was always addressed as Excelentísimo Señor (Most Excellent Sir).

The Marqués de Branciforte was the brother-in-law of Manuel Godoy. His Christian name was Don Miguel de la Grúa y Talamanca. He was Viceroy of New Spain from July 12, 1794, to May 31, 1798, and is known for his love of adulation and for enriching himself. Lázaro Lamadrid Jiménez, O.F.M., *El Alavés Fray Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, O.F.M. (1736-1803)* (Alava: Diputación Floral de Alava, 1963), I, 347, and II, 206; José Bravo Ugarte, *Historia de México* (México: Jus, 1941), Tomo Segundo, 106; Herbert Ingram Priestly, *José de Gálvez: Visitor-General of New Spain, 1765-1771* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1916), p. 389.

The King of Spain was Charles IV (1788-1808) whose reign was distinguished by his weakness, his wife's infidelity, and the administrative corruption of the officialdom — all of which led to Napoleon Bonaparte's takeover of Spain and consequently to the independence of Mexico from the mother country.

6. Costansó's location for both San Diego and San Francisco Bays are very accurate. See Rand McNally, *The International Atlas* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1969), I, 179.

7. A league in Spanish California was the equivalent of 2.6 miles.



8. I was unable to find any data on Brigadier Pablo Sánchez except that he, Costansó, and Fidalgo wrote a report on the sending of supplies to California. It is entitled "Informe sobre los auxilios que se propone enviar a California, 1795." See *Noticias y documentos acerca de las Californias*, p. 239.

9. For a brief description of the emergence of English trade in the Northwest see Manuel Servín, "The Act of Sovereignty in the Age of Discovery" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1959), pp. 146-154.

10. "Notka" of "Notka" is the Spanish equivalent for Nootka in English. Nootka Island, located about two-thirds up the western coast of Vancouver Island, lies at 49 degrees 32 minutes North Latitude and 126 degrees 42 minutes West Longitude. See Rand McNally, *The International Atlas*, I, 151.

11. For the Nootka Controversy that emerged in 1789 when Martínez seized the British ships anchored at Nootka and dispatched Colnett in chains to Mexico City see Manuel P. Servín, "The Act of Sovereignty in the Age of Discovery," pp. 154-176, and William R. Manning, *The Nootka Sound Controversy* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905).

12. It is difficult to ascertain what rank a *piloto graduado* held. According to the *Ordenanzas de su Magestad para el Gobierno Militar Político, y Económico de su Armada Naval: Primera Parte que contiene los Assuntos pertenecientes al Cuerpo General de la Armada* (Madrid: Juan de Zúñiga, 1748), p. 161, there were only three types of *pilotos de número* or pilots assigned to each department: first, second, and assistant pilots. The *Ordenanza* does not mention *pilotos graduados*. But it is plausible that a *piloto graduado* was a commissioned officer acting as a *piloto* (see *Nuevo Diccionario Ilustrado de la Lengua Española* [Barcelona: Editorial Ramón Sopena, S.A., 1968], p. 535) or a *piloto* temporarily assigned to a naval department (see *Ordenanzas*, p. 165).

13. I believe that this is Pedro Jiménez de Góngora, Duque de Almodóvar del Río, who was born at the beginning of the eighteenth century and died in Madrid in 1794. He represented Spain in the Courts of Russia, Portugal, and England. After returning to the Spanish Court, he dedicated himself to literary pursuits publishing *La Década Espistolaria sobre el estado de la literatura en Francia* in 1781. In 1792 he was elected as president of the Royal Spanish Academy of History. *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada, Europeo-Americana* (Madrid-Barcelona: Espasa-Calpe, S.A.), IV, 851; XXVIII, 2788.

14. Ricardo Wall, who was Irish descent, was born in Nantes, France (date unknown), and died in Granada in 1778. He began his career in France as an officer in the Navy, but then, influenced by Cardinal Alberoni, joined the Spanish Navy in 1718. He distinguished himself in Sicily as a naval officer, but later entered the Spanish Army where he rose to the rank of lieutenant general. He was highly esteemed by both Ferdinand VI and Charles III where he was respectively Secretary of State, (1754-1759) under the former and Secretary of War (1759-1763) under the latter. Although he was a definite participant in signing of the Family

Compact, he tried to maintain a distance with the French. In 1763 after the Treaty of Paris was signed, he retired. *Diccionario de Historia de España* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1952), II, 1458.

15. Nueva Galicia, or as it was technically known "Reino de Nueva Galicia, was a province of New Spain that today would include the present-day status of Aguascalientes, Jalisco, a great portion of the state of Zacatecas, and considerable territory of the states of Durango and San Luis Potosí. *Encilopedia Universal*, XXXVIII, 1443.

16. For the establishment of the Naval Department of San Blas see Enrique Cárdenas de la Peña, *San Blas de Nayarit* (2 vols.; México: Secretaría de Marina, 1968), and Michael E. Thurman, *The Naval Department of San Blas* (Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1967).

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# Irish-Born Champion of the Mexican-Americans

By FRANCIS J. WEBER

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During the half century immediately preceding World War II, the Catholic Church in the United States stood almost alone in the field of constructive effort in behalf of Mexican-Americans exiled from their native land for religious and political reasons.<sup>1</sup> John J. Cantwell was outstanding among the leaders in this movement and even before his death the Archbishop of Los Angeles was acknowledged as "one of the greatest benefactors of Mexicans in the United States".<sup>2</sup> In addition to providing for the spiritual needs of the thousands of immigrants flocking to Southern California, the Irish-born prelate was a rigorous supporter of measures aimed at reforming the social and economic conditions among the exiles.

The benign religious liberalism of Porfirio Díaz had come to an abrupt halt with the dictator's expulsion in 1911. That prolonged period had provided a peaceful interlude for the Church in Mexico, inasmuch as few of the anticlerical statutes were enforced. With the subsequent emergence of General Venustiano Carranza, however, unmistakable signs of animosity against the Church became obvious once again.

Most of the pressing difficulties facing the People of God in Mexico during the 1920's, could be traced to that nation's Jacobine constitution which, among a host of other restrictions, banned the teaching of religion in public and private schools. Churches were secularized and civil officials authorized to determine the number of priests allotted to given areas. In an effort to alienate allegiance from the Pope, President Plutarco Elías Calles took the ultimate step of installing a defrocked priest, Father José Joaquín Pérez, as "Patriarch of the Mexican Catholic Church." The country's chief executive further crippled religious activities by expelling all foreign-born priests and religious.

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The adverse world opinion aroused at the sight of Mexico's wholesale religious persecution was reflected in a letter of sympathy issued by the United States hierarchy at their annual meeting in 1926. Therein, the bishops noted:

The fight may be long; it may give many martyrs to the Church and to mankind . . . but the long suffering and peace-loving Mexican people, too long the victim of ruthless militarism, will emerge from this trial a stronger and purer nation, with a constitution founded on the true principles of justice and liberty, and a government that honestly respects the rights of the people.<sup>3</sup>

So serious did the situation eventually become, that the Papal Secretary of State, Pietro Cardinal Gasparri, observed, "Nothing like this persecution has ever been known in history, not even in the first centuries of the Church."<sup>4</sup>

Because of its proximity to the international border, the Diocese of Los Angeles-San Diego provided an attractive haven for Mexican-Americans seeking the human rights denied them by their own government. By 1923, there were an estimated 150,000 exiles residing in Los Angeles County alone and the tremendous influx of peoples gave no indication of subsiding.<sup>5</sup> In the two-year period, 1925-1926, another 80,000 found their way to Southern California.

These victims of religious oppression were received in California's Southland with characteristic hospitality. Bishop John J. Cantwell appealed for co-operation with plans to alleviate the dreadful plight of the newcomers to the eight southernmost counties of the state, noting, "We, in Los Angeles, so close to the Mexican border . . . cannot be indifferent to the dreadful persecution which is now being waged not only against the Catholic Church but against the most fundamental principles of Christianity." The bishop then proceeded to score Mexico's irrational policy towards foreign-born priests, religious and sisters, wondering aloud how any man-controlled government could, in the twentieth century, "wage a relentless war against women, whose lives have been consecrated to the service of Almighty God, whose vocation is to help others unto a better citizenship and to a place in the Kingdom of God." Cantwell observed that the same officials had exhibited their "implacable hostility to religion, no matter in whom personified." After enumerating some of the more flagrant abuses heaped upon the faithful in Mexico, Cantwell opti-

mistically predicted better days ahead, noting that "the Catholic Church has seen the birth and the beginnings of many governments and she has stood at the bier of those who were the bitterest persecutors."<sup>6</sup>

Almost immediately after his installation as Bishop of Monterey-Los Angeles, Cantwell had organized, within the Associated Catholic Charities, an Immigrant Welfare Department to co-ordinate activities among the foreign-born population of the diocese, 75,000 of whom were Mexican-Americans residing in the city of Los Angeles. The facilities of the existing El Hogar Feliz were temporarily utilized until quarters could be provided in more commodious surroundings.<sup>7</sup> On February 22, 1920, the bishop blessed the newly relocated settlement house, placing it under the spiritual patronage of Santa Rita. The need for a clinic in the neighborhood, 89 percent of whose inhabitants were Mexican-Americans, soon became evident, and facilities were expanded for that exigency. Within a relatively short time, people from all over the city were taking advantage of the medical services offered to all applicants, irrespective of race or creed. The routine followed at Santa Rita, the first of the diocesan clinics, was recorded by a contemporary writer:

The first patient to enter is a young Mexican woman with a baby in her arms and another child, just able to walk, hanging to her skirts. She is not quite certain of the proper procedure, as she timidly comes in, but she is given a smile and a friendly greeting by the young lady who comes to meet her, and who hands her a slip on which the figure 1 is printed. As it is apparent that this is her first visit, she is seated at the right of the doorway. In a few minutes she is asked to come to the desk. Here the District Visitor, whom she has frequently seen in her neighborhood, speaks to her in her own tongue. The Visitor records her name, age, address and various particulars, together with the general symptoms of her illness — the chief of which she describes as "*dolor de cabeza*" — without the patient's realizing that her "history" is being taken. She is then given a card bearing her name and a certain number. This number, she is told, is her "chart" number, and she is cautioned to bring the card with her each time she visits the clinic. She returns to her seat, giving place to an old Italian woman, who seems to be suffering greatly as she limps to the desk. . . .

In the meantime, many others have arrived, and have been seated on the left side of the room — the right side being reserved for those making their first visit. The majority are Mexicans, but Americans, Italians, Austrians, Syrians, and natives of France, Spain and Ireland are also in evidence. Every age is also represented, from babies in arms to grandparents.

Through the speaking tube connected with the clinic comes the signal that the patients holding cards 1 to 10 are to be sent over. The little Mexican mother breathes a sigh of relief as she is told that she may go and see the good doctor.<sup>8</sup>

Probably the single most effective of the many programs initiated for the Mexican-Americans in Southern California during those troubled years was the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, founded at Los Angeles, in March of 1922, as a direct outgrowth of the welfare work being conducted among the Mexican and Italian immigrants.<sup>9</sup> The need for supplementing the religious instruction given at the few existing settlement centers was paramount, insofar as these latest immigrants generally reflected a moral and religious background noticeably inferior to that of earlier arrivals from the more predominantly religious parts of Mexico. Cantwell's stress on educational expansion was based on his views that "in making Catholics better Catholics we shall make them better citizens."<sup>10</sup>

One of the first projects of the Confraternity was a diocesan survey to determine the number of Mexican-American children actually residing in the jurisdiction. Questionnaires were sent to public school authorities asking for the total enrollment and the number or percentage of Mexican-Americans in attendance.<sup>11</sup> Armed with the results of that poll, the bishop and his collaborators were able to concentrate CCD work in the areas of greatest demand. While the involvement of the Confraternity was not confined to Mexican-Americans, it was among that segment of the population that its earliest and most far-reaching accomplishments were realized. Within thirteen years after its foundation, the CCD had in operation 211 centers with 1,279 teachers instructing 28,500 youngsters. Allowing for its obvious deficiencies, the Confraternity answered in the only way possible for the educational exigencies of a distressing situation.

The clerical "sparkplug" for Catholic involvement in the Mexican-American apostolate was the Reverend Leroy Callahan who directed Confraternity activities between 1927 and 1937. Quickly and efficiently the Illinois-born priest built up a model organization around which almost every other diocese in the nation eventually patterned its activities. Father Callahan was especially sensitive to the needs of Mexican-Americans and felt that working among them was "as truly missionary as the evangelization of the heathen, with the sole

difference that we are laboring amongst those who are Catholic by baptism."<sup>12</sup>

The Juventud Católica Feminina Mexicana, a union of fifty one Catholic action groups, and the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine were unique in the over-all plans undertaken for the Mexican-Americans in the Diocese of Los Angeles-San Diego. Generally, Bishop Cantwell's programs were designed to function within the already established framework of the Bureau of Catholic Charities. This he envisioned as a means of avoiding any ethnical overtones to an apostolate demanding the co-operation of all Catholics, irrespective of their own particular background.

The structural outline of the Bureau of Catholic Charities and its successor, the Catholic Welfare Bureau, shows clear evidence of the bishop's expansionary plans. Already by 1929, the bureau had inaugurated five diocesan community centers with year-round recreational, educational, and social programs for Mexican-Americans, along with courses in home-making and athletic and club activities for the younger generation. Classes augmenting the public school Americanization were started throughout the diocese, and community centers took on the character of neighborhood clubhouses and rallying points for Mexican-Americans in individual districts. "The history of these institutions," noted one authority, "is the story of the effort of the Catholic people of Los Angeles to care for the spiritual and social needs of the stranger in their midst."<sup>13</sup>

Some idea of the magnitude of Bishop Cantwell's blueprint for the Mexican-Americans is reflected in his *Relatio* to the Holy See for 1929, in which he reported that no fewer than seventy churches and chapels had been erected within the preceding five year period, and over \$750,000 expended on various related projects for the exiles of religious persecution. The prelate also noted that for the third consecutive year, 52 percent of the total funds used by the Catholic Welfare Bureau had been allocated for Mexican-Americans.<sup>14</sup> With all the inflated demands placed on the diocese by the massive influx of peoples, both clerical and lay, it is to the credit of the Southland's Catholics that their response to the added financial strain was universally generous.

The *arreglo* of 1929 between the President of Mexico and that nation's hierarchy restored a measure of peace to the country and



made possible the return there of a great majority of the clergy, religious, and laity.<sup>15</sup> Except for a flareup in 1935-1936, the persecution gradually subsided, as many of the more severe statutes against the Church fell unto desuetude.

Departure of the refugee clergy, however, triggered other reverberations since few of the priests born in the United States were conversant enough in the hispanic tongue to care adequately for the spiritual needs of those Mexican-Americans deciding to take up permanent residence in the Diocese of Los Angeles-San Diego. While Bishop Cantwell had foreseen that problem several years earlier by emphasizing in synodal directives the grave obligation of knowing Spanish,<sup>16</sup> he found it necessary to repeat that mandate in more forceful language. Recognizing as he did that the immigrants brought to the diocese the finest traditions of their own land in music, art, in sculpture and in painting,<sup>17</sup> Cantwell focused attention towards encouraging involvement by clerical aspirants in all the lingual and cultural aspects of Spanish-American life. Provisions were accordingly made to allow seminarians to spend time in Mexico preparing for work among those natives of that land still living in the United States, 86 percent of them in California.<sup>18</sup>

The sensitivity toward incipient racial prejudice characteristic of the bishop accounts for his insistence that the recorded accomplishments of the Catholic Welfare Bureau omit any mention of the ethnical background of those receiving assistance; nonetheless, a breakdown in one year's work, does indicate, if only imperfectly, the extent to which the bureau was involved in alleviating the needs of the poor, the greater majority of whom were Mexican-Americans. In 1930, for example, a sum of \$114,193.88 was expended for family relief, that money going to 7,543 families or 35,005 persons. A total of 38,078 homes were personally visited by representatives of the bureau in that year alone.<sup>19</sup> Impressive as these figures are when repeated on an annual basis, such statistics fall far short of telling the whole story of Catholic involvement since most of the work for the Mexican people centered around individual parishes.<sup>20</sup> Financed as much of it was at the parochial level, the greatest portion of the benefits received by the Mexican-Americans in those years received no recognition among diocesan tabulations.

In addition to programs of direct assistance, social workers from the

Catholic Welfare Bureau continued their practice of circulating among the eight counties of Southern California after 1934, "interpreting American ideals, laws, customs, and social facilities to the newcomers; seeking to better their material condition, and endeavoring to protect them as much as possible from the ruthless exploitation of the unscrupulous type of industrialist and land owner."<sup>21</sup> The policy adhered to by those associated with the bureau merely implemented Bishop Cantwell's avowed philosophy that "neither capitalism, nor industrialism, nor agriculturism has any right to use the labor of these people for the achievement of its end."<sup>22</sup>

In 1936 the Holy See asked a number of bishops in the southwestern part of the nation to submit a survey of the Church's work among Mexican-born people in their respective jurisdictions. Cantwell's response estimated at 182,300 the number of those in the 44,350 square mile Diocese of Los Angeles-San Diego falling into that category. Of these, about a third had fixed residences while the rest were migratory seasonal workers,<sup>23</sup> described by one priest as people who knew no home but the family Ford, no language but their own, no education save the smattering they have acquired from the schools of Calles or his predecessors, and no religion save what they have been able to preserve of the Faith handed down from their fathers.<sup>24</sup> The bishop continued his report, noting that 126 churches and missions with 46 resident pastors were devoted exclusively to caring for these people. One hundred and seventy-nine vacation schools and 300 year-round Confraternity centers were imparting religious instruction to 28,000 Mexican-American children in the diocese. There were eleven convents of exiled sisters, and, under the auspices of the Catholic Welfare Bureau, nine community houses and recreational headquarters had been established. Four clinics and two day nurseries were also in operation. Seventy-eight priests were working among the Mexican-Americans exclusively while another 140 devoted at least part of their time to that apostolate.<sup>25</sup> Such was the multiphased program at the time Los Angeles was advanced to metropolitan status with a separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction formed at San Diego.

#### CALIFORNIANS IN MEXICO

The influence of the archbishop was felt in areas other than those subject to his immediate control. Dedicated as he was to restoring the

image of Mexico as a Catholic country, the prelate did not hesitate to embroil himself even in the political arena on those few occasions when he felt some tangible benefit might accrue to the Church. The most outstanding of his forays along these lines, and one which enhanced considerably the Church's role on the international scene, was his determination to visit publicly the National Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe in Mexico City.

Such an opportunity presented itself in 1940, when Luis Murillo Cornado, a special envoy of Mexico's Ministry of the Interior, approached Archbishop Cantwell with an invitation to pontificate at the Pan American ceremonies honoring his nation's patroness in the Distrito Federal on December 12. Cantwell immediately contacted officials at the United States Department of State about the advisability of accepting the invitation and was told that "it would be most imprudent for the Archbishop of Los Angeles to accept any left-handed invitation" lest it be construed as strengthening "the stand of Avila Camacho whose election has been declared legal at a time when the evidences were that if there had been a *bona fide* election in Mexico, he would have been defeated."<sup>26</sup>

Cantwell then sought to circumvent the matter by contacting a frequent house-guest and close friend, Luis María Martínez, the Archbishop of Mexico City, with the suggestion that as temporary Apostolic Delegate to the Republic, an invitation from his office could be accepted on a purely religious plane, thus avoiding the diplomatic entanglements altogether. Martínez eagerly complied, and the two prelates decided to schedule the journey for October of 1941. At the same time, Cantwell alerted the State Department of his plans, noting that he hoped his visit would "help out the good neighbor policy of the eminent President."<sup>27</sup> Anxious to widen the interest in his journey, the archbishop addressed an invitation to his people suggesting their participation in his forthcoming trip, noting that "it was from that venerable land the first missionaries came to California, and built the Missions which are our greatest historic landmarks." Cantwell observed that "a visit by our people to the City of Mexico would be a gracious compliment to the Hierarchy and Catholics of a country that has sent so many of its children to California."<sup>28</sup>

Response to the invitation was encouraging and a representative

party left Los Angeles by rail on October 6, arriving in the Mexican capital three days later. A large crowd of dignitaries at the depot heard the archbishop, whose see-city boasted of more Mexicans than any other in the world, save the Distrito Federal,<sup>29</sup> describe the deep-rooted admiration that he and the people of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles felt for their neighbors to the south. He said:

During our stay among you, we hope to enjoy your incomparable climate, to feast our eyes on the indescribable natural beauty of your landscapes, and to revivify our spirit, vexed by the sad situation in which the world finds itself, during these days, with the contemplation of the magnificent monuments which are not only the treasured inheritance of the Missioner and the Conqueror of old, but the fruit of the heroic sacrifices and gigantic efforts of the succeeding generations of your noble race.<sup>30</sup>

A solemn pontifical Mass was celebrated on October 12, at the National Basilica, some few miles from the center of the capital. Every inch of the vast edifice was crowded for the event, and an estimated throng of 50,000 assembled outside the church for the colorful ceremony. The President of Mexico was represented by a military delegation, the first time since Maximilian that troops had marched into the basilica for a religious event. The entire diplomatic corps attended, and, at the conclusion of the Mass, Archbishop Cantwell again spoke of his delight in being in Mexico:

This visit which we are now paying your beautiful country is for us the realization of a long-felt desire to come among you, and to kneel before the miraculous image of Our common Mother, Holy Mary of Guadalupe, under whose kindly smile Our Beloved Archdiocese of Los Angeles was born, when a century ago, our predecessor, Francisco García Diego y Moreno, received episcopal consecration before her altar.<sup>31</sup>

The archbishop was asked to speak on the National Broadcasting System, and, October 17, delivered a short discourse which was beamed to parts of the United States as well as throughout the Mexican Republic. Showing himself no stranger to history, Cantwell observed, "The missions built in California are our title deeds to show to the newcomers that we of the Old Church are in California by right of inheritance." He concluded by praying that "the traditions that made Mexico distinguished and honorable in the past may be perpetuated in a fuller measure in years to come, and that the glory of days gone by may be surpassed" by the pledge of the future.<sup>32</sup>

Cantwell's insistence on observing ecclesiastical protocol seems to have had its desired effect. One observer noted that the sight of the Archbishop in his full prelatial robes, and forty American priests in their clerical garb, created quite a stir in Mexico City. The Archbishop was particular to wear his robes on all occasions and remarked to the reporters who accosted him that he was happy to go to Mexico now that his religious habit was not offensive to anyone.<sup>33</sup> From all indications, the visit was favorably received in all quarters. The *Excelsior*, in a long editorial, viewed the journey as signalling a new era in Mexican-American relations, as well as a thawing in that country's delicate Church-State problems because of Cantwell's visit. The editorial said, "The peoples of America are going to be given a proof that we know how to behave as human beings and that we are worthy to be numbered within the circle of the cultural nations"<sup>34</sup> of the world.<sup>35</sup>

#### PROSELYTIZING

The inroads made by Protestant proselytizers among the traditionally Catholic Mexican-Americans was a source of considerable concern, if not annoyance, to Bishop Cantwell from the earliest years of his episcopate. While offering, as early as 1919, "to work hand in hand with every rightly disposed social worker and with all good citizens in an endeavor to solve the problems of poverty, delinquency and citizenship," the prelate decried the activities of those "proselytizers who seek to tear out of the heart of the foreigner the religion which he has and which alone will save him from becoming an anarchist."<sup>36</sup>

Cantwell's plea went unheeded, however, and within a decade there were 144 proselytizing agencies in California. One priest assigned to build a church and school in a colony of 10,000 Mexican-Americans found himself confronted with no less than fourteen sects, all trying to evangelize the poor, uneducated immigrants.<sup>37</sup> The bishop, adamant in his attempts to combat such activities, observed that if he could only get the Mexican to understand that the efforts to evangelize him was an insult to his race, he would have advanced a long way toward counteracting proselytism.<sup>38</sup>

Recognizing the zeal of the proselytizers as "a challenge to the Apostolic spirit of our clergy",<sup>39</sup> Cantwell asked Father Augustine

O'Dea to prepare a study of the situation for presentation to a seminar held at Camarillo in the summer of 1942. In the mind of the prelate, acquainting the clergy with the major problems facing the 220,000 Mexican-Americans in the Archdiocese, and the 460,000 in the province,<sup>40</sup> would give added impetus to the existing program initiated for the clergy of learning the Spanish language and customs. The extensive survey presented by Father O'Dea and discussed by the priests and seminarians<sup>41</sup> did in fact result in renewed awareness of the need for additionally expanding the already vast network of archdiocesan facilities devoted to the Mexican-American apostolate.<sup>42</sup>

Cantwell's insistence on a long-term approach to the whole question of the Church's involvement in this particular area was based on the assumption that "the great number of Spanish speaking Catholics in our midst constitutes no passing problem." He recognized that

Our proximity to the Mexican border, the demand of Mexican labor, the lack of immigration quota, *etc.*, makes it certain that there will always be with us great numbers of non-English speaking Mexicans. The tenacity of these people in adhering to their national spirit; their unwillingness to be assimilated racially; and their isolation in colonies will tend to make them retain their language.<sup>43</sup>

At the annual gathering of the National Conference of Catholic Charities in 1944, John R. Mulroy singled out Los Angeles and San Antonio as two archdioceses which had given and continued to offer "the best illustration of thorough-going Catholic effort to solve the problems that affect the well-being of our Spanish-speaking brethren." In particular, he noted that

The Archdiocese of Los Angeles, with over a quarter of a million Mexican population, has made it obligatory on all seminarians to study Spanish; they must study the history of Mexico, Spain and South America. They must acquaint themselves with Mexican problems and with the social and economic conditions of these people in the Archdiocese. A Home Mission Board for the archdiocese requires the adoption of missions by wealthy parishes. Catholic papers in Spanish are circulated, and there is a Catholic Hour in Spanish over the radio. Many religious congregations work exclusively among these people, and one has a special seminary for training priests to work among them. The Confraternity of Christian Doctrine has 200 centers and a staff of 800 religious and lay teachers who instructed 36,000 this past year. Nine parochial schools are 100 per cent for children of Spanish-speaking parentage, and they have an enrollment of 4,000. Six parochial schools of over 1,000 pupils each, have a 50 percent Mexican enrollment. Many other Catholic schools have large numbers of these children. A large

part of the work of the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, with its various branches, consists of rendering service to Mexican families and individuals. Eight child-caring homes care for their orphans and dependent children. There are two boarding homes for Mexican girls. One home, sponsored by the Catholic Big Brothers, cares for delinquent boys. Numerous boys' clubs are under the leadership of young men of Latin-American extraction. A special maternity hospital and clinic renders services to over 6,000 patients a year. A sanatorium for tubercular girls, two day nurseries, and seven settlement houses give some idea of the extent of the welfare program devoted chiefly to the Mexican population. A similar program exists in the Archdiocese of San Antonio and to a lesser degree in the Archdiocese of Denver.<sup>44</sup>

#### THE FINAL YEARS

Archbishop Cantwell's reputation for sponsoring "every activity that has bettered in any way the condition of the Mexican population within his archdiocese,"<sup>45</sup> explains his longfelt anxiety for erecting "in this country a National Home Mission Organization"<sup>46</sup> to co-ordinate the Church's activities on behalf of Mexican-Americans. At the annual meeting of the nation's hierarchy in 1944, the Bishop's Committee for the Spanish Speaking was organized and, at that group's initial meeting on January 10, 1945, Cantwell accepted an appointment to the executive board as General Chairman.<sup>47</sup> He also complied with a request that a Los Angeles priest, Father John J. Birch, assume the position of full-time executive secretary for the committee.

Undoubtedly, hypersensitivity to charges of racial and ethnic favoritism which motivated Cantwell's masterplan of expanding existing agencies, in preference to establishing new ones, has caused, in certain areas, a partial distortion of his extensive contributions to the Mexican-American apostolate. Only a misunderstanding of the prelate's operational technic, and the results accruing therefrom, could account for the unfortunate and highly erroneous conclusion of one writer that in California "the Roman Catholic Church, aside from building churches and stationing refugee Mexican priests in Spanish-speaking parishes, did little to aid materially or spiritually" the exiles from across the border.<sup>48</sup>

The record would be far from complete, however, if the appraisal of Cantwell's accomplishments were allowed to rest on mere statistics alone, no matter how impressive. A truly balanced account must also take cognizance of the human elements involved, chief of which was



the affection harbored for the bishop in his role as almoner for the Catholics of Southern California. Of all the virtues, gratitude is often the most overlooked, possibly because its admission implies a state of reliance which human nature seldom cares to admit. In the case at hand, however, the record abounds with public acknowledgements of the benefits extended to the Mexican-Americans by their Catholic hosts in California's Southland, and some of them deserve a place in the annals.

The first public manifestation of affection for Bishop Cantwell came late in 1929, when the prelate was notified by the Holy See that the Mexican hierarchy, in union with the Apostolic Delegate to the United States of Mexico, "urgently request that we honor you with a particular sign of our benevolence on account of the extraordinary graciousness you have most generously shown" to the Mexican people during the days of their religious persecutions.<sup>49</sup> Pope Pius XI acceded to the request by naming the Bishop of Los Angeles-San Diego to the honorary position of Assistant at the Papal Throne. According to the local Catholic newspaper, "the principal motive of the Mexican bishops . . . was to secure signal recognition for the kindly manner in which the hundreds of priests, religious, and faithful were cared for when they came here seeking refuge from persecution."<sup>50</sup>

In further recognition of the sanctuary offered by Bishop Cantwell to seven members of the Mexican hierarchy, 130 of its priests and over 200 nuns,<sup>51</sup> Archbishop Pascual Díaz and the Canons of the Basilica of Our Lady of Guadalupe voted unanimously to present Southern California's prelate with the Golden Rose of Tepeyac, one of Mexico's highest awards and one rarely bestowed on nonresidents. The presentation was made as a solemn gesture of gratitude for Cantwell's "great hospitality and charity toward exiled Mexican priests during the years of persecution."<sup>52</sup>

Another acknowledgement of the esteem felt by Mexican-Americans was the selection of Los Angeles as the scene for the International Marian Celebration in 1937. A crowd of 65,000 gathered in the approach to Calvary Mausoleum for the first solemn canonical coronation ever held in the United States. Diplomatic representatives from twenty-one Latin-American nations participated in the ceremonies during which Archbishop Cantwell placed the golden crown, an

exact replica of the one used at Rome by Pope Benedict XV in 1919, upon the picture of Our Lady of Guadalupe.<sup>53</sup>

While the many ramifications of the Church's influence among Mexican-Americans in various areas of the nation have yet to receive adequate attention, even a cursory study of John J. Cantwell's contributions substantiates a view uttered almost a quarter of a century ago to the effect that the Catholic Church in the Southwest and on the coast has expended more concern "on Her beloved Mexican people than on any other group in our population."<sup>54</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Robert E. Lucey, "Are We Good Neighbors?" in *The Spanish Speaking of the Southwest and West* (Washington, 1943), p. 15.
2. Frederick J. Zwierlein, "Mexican Problems," *Catholic World*, CLVII (June, 1943), 275.
3. *Our Bishops Speak* (Milwaukee, 1952), pp. 188-189.
4. "Notes and Comments," *Catholic Historical Review*, XIII (January, 1928), 734.
5. William E. North, *Catholic Education in Southern California* (Washington, 1936), p. 188. According to one recently released survey, "immigration from Mexico reached a peak in the decade of the 1920's, with close to 500,000 reported as entering [the United States] on a permanent basis." Mexican immigrants accounted for 9% of the total number in the first half of the 1920's and 16% in the latter half. See Leo Grebler, *Mexican Immigration to the United States: The Record and Its Implications* (Los Angeles, 1965), p. 21.
6. John J. Cantwell, "Pastoral Letter," reproduced in *The Tidings*, July 23, 1926.
7. See Francis J. Weber, "Happy Home Aided Neglected Children," *The Tidings*, June 4, 1965.
8. W. E. Corr, *The Santa Rita Settlement* (Los Angeles, c. 1920), pp. 8-10.
9. Dennis J. Burke, *The History of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine in the Diocese of Los Angeles [sic], 1922-1936* (Washington, 1965), p. 18.
10. *Associated Catholic Charities Report, 1919* (Los Angeles, 1920), p. 11.
11. Veronica M. Spellmire, "Helping to Safeguard Their Heritage—The Laity's Part," *Proceedings of the National Catechetical Congress of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, 1940* (Paterson, 1941), p. 498.
12. "A New Missionary Field in California," *The Missionary Catechist*, VII (January, 1931), 1.

13. Thomas J. O'Dwyer, "The Mexican in Our Midst," *Proceedings of the Fifteenth Session of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1929* (Washington, 1929), p. 195.
14. *Relatio Diocesis Angelorum-Sancti Didaci in California Facta Sacrae Congregationi Consistoriali, A.D. 1929* (Los Angeles, 1929), p. 16.
15. By 1934, Cantwell estimated that 70,000 had returned to Mexico. See *Relatio Diocesis Angelorum-Sancti Didaci in California Facta Sacrae Congregationi Consistoriali, A.D. 1934* (Los Angeles, 1934), p. 22.
16. *Statuta Diocesis Angelorum-Sancti Didaci* (Saint Louis, 1927), p. 5.
17. Archives of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles (hereinafter referred to as AALA), John J. Cantwell, Circular Letter, Los Angeles, August 9, 1941.
18. Augustine O'Dea, *Notes on Protestant Proselytism* (Los Angeles, 1942), p. 40.
19. *Report of the Catholic Welfare Bureau of the Diocese of Los Angeles-San Diego, 1930*. (Los Angeles, 1931), p. 15.
20. Linna E. Bresette, *Mexicans in the United States* (Washington, n.d.), p. 22.
21. *Catholic Welfare Bureau of the Diocese of Los Angeles-San Diego, 1934* (Los Angeles, 1935), p. 6.
22. John J. Cantwell, "The Organization of Catholic Charities," *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Session of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1927* (Washington, 1927), p. 12.
23. AALA, John J. Cantwell to Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Los Angeles, October 31, 1936.
24. John J. Crowley, "Bringing The Church to 90,000 Churchless Catholics," *The Missionary Catechist*, IV (May, 1928), 5.
25. A sociological breakdown made in 1931 revealed that in Southern California, the Mexican-American element was composed largely of unskilled laborers meagerly paid by public utility concerns for temporary construction work or by farmers for seasonal fruit-picking. See *The Catholic Welfare Bureau of the Diocese of Los Angeles-San Diego, 1931* (Los Angeles, 1932), p. 11.
26. AALA, William F. Montavon to John J. Cantwell, Washington, D.C., October 3, 1940.
27. AALA, John J. Cantwell to Sumner Wells, Los Angeles, August 28, 1941.
28. AALA, John J. Cantwell, Circular Letter, Los Angeles, August 9, 1941.
29. AALA, John J. Cantwell, Circular Letter, Los Angeles, August 28, 1940.
30. *El Siglo de Torreón*, October 9, 1941.
31. AALA, Mimeographed statement of John J. Cantwell (Los Angeles, 1941).
32. *The Tidings*, October 17, 1941.

33. AALA, Joseph T. McGucken to Joseph Byrne, Los Angeles, October 29, 1941.
34. Issue of October 18, 1941.
35. The memory of the archbishop's visit to Mexico City was perpetuated in the Hospedería Sacerdotal "John J. Cantwell" which was inaugurated early in 1943. Located on the Avenida de Insurgentes, the 300-year-old edifice was dedicated to the Archbishop of Los Angeles, "*una verdadera inspiración del cielo y merecedora de las bendiciones de Dios.*" See Agustín S. de la Cueva, *Hospedería Sacerdotal "John J. Cantwell"* (Mexico City, 1943), p. 2.
36. *Associated Catholic Charities Report, 1919* (Los Angeles, 1920), p. 11.
37. Related in Linna E. Bresette, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
38. AALA, John J. Cantwell to Henry P. Del Cano, Los Angeles, November 30, 1925.
39. AALA, John J. Cantwell, Circular Letter, Los Angeles, August 28, 1940.
40. *I.e.*, the area comprising the Archdiocese of Los Angeles and the Dioceses of Monterey-Fresno, San Diego, and Tucson.
41. Augustine O'Dea, *The Mexican Problem and Its Latin American Background* (Camarillo, 1942), p. 12. Proselytizing in California dates from 1875, when the Methodist Church began its activities among Mexican-Americans.
42. In 1942, the city of Los Angeles alone accounted for eighteen parishes and six missions exclusively serving the Mexican-American community. Another twenty-three parishes and as many missions were operating beyond the see-city. Such figures omit, naturally, any record of the vast number of Mexican-Americans attending churches outside their own area or who resided in predominantly Anglo centers.
43. AALA, John J. Cantwell, Circular Letter, Los Angeles, August 28, 1940.
44. "The Catholic Answer to Racial Minorities," *Proceedings of the Twenty-Ninth Conference of Catholic Charities, 1944* (Washington, 1944), pp. 104-105.
45. Sister Candida, S.H.N., "Opportunities of the Teaching Sister to Help Foster a More Kindly Attitude towards Mexicans," *Proceedings of the Sixth National Catechetical Congress of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, 1940* (Paterson, 1941), p. 503.
46. AALA, Joseph T. McGucken to Solomón Rahaim, S.J., Los Angeles, January 27, 1943.
47. Rosemary E. Smith, "The Work of the Bishops' Committee for the Spanish Speaking on Behalf of the Migrant Worker" (Washington, 1958), p. 4.
48. Manuel P. Servín, "The Pre-World War II Mexican-American: An Interpretation," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLV (December, 1966), 328.
49. AALA, P. Cardinal Gasparri to John J. Cantwell, Rome, September 30, 1929.

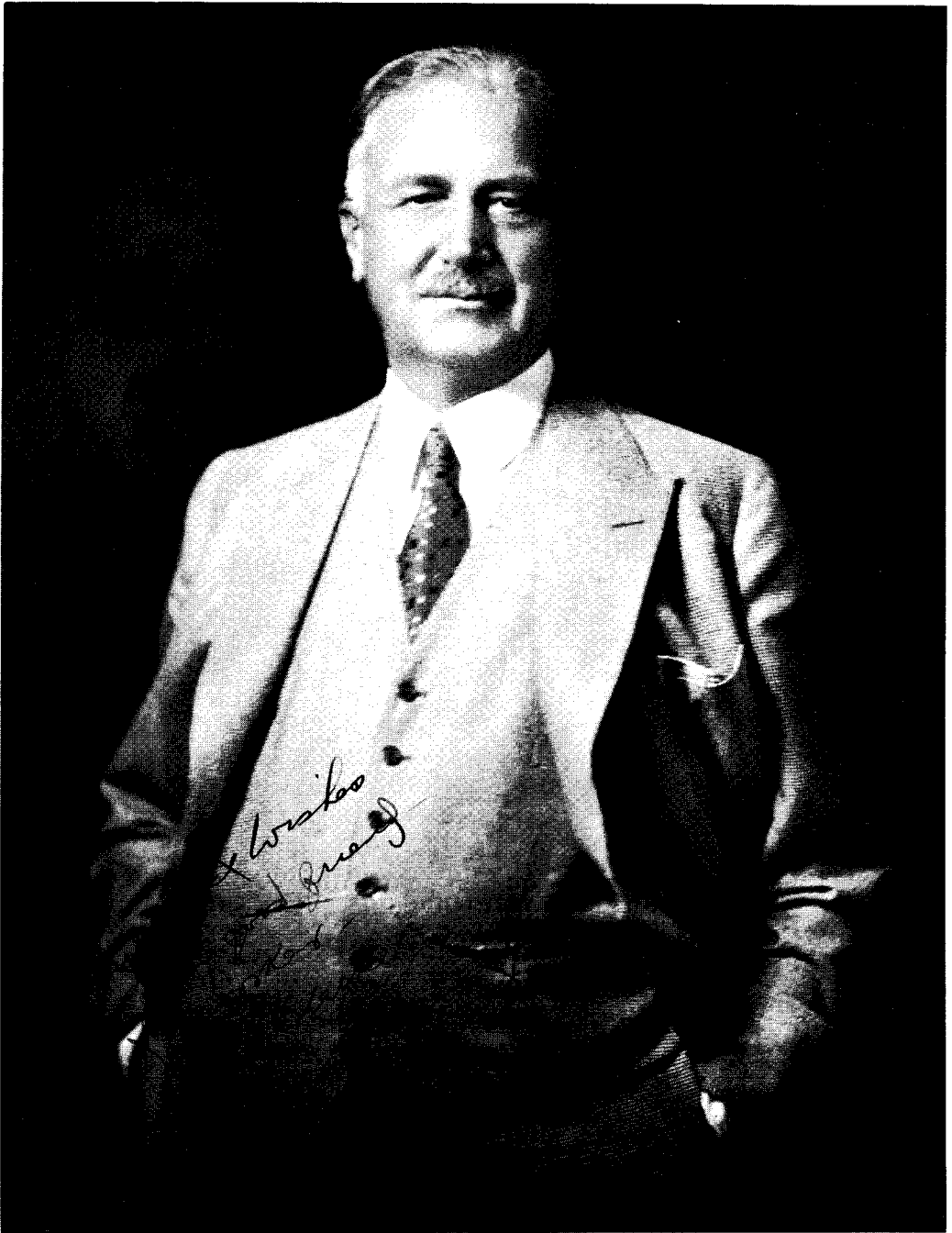
50. *The Tidings*, December 20, 1929.

51. These figures are based on a report to the Apostolic Delegate in 1927. See AALA, John J. Cantwell to Pietro Fumasoni-Biondi, Los Angeles, August 18, 1927.

52. See Francis J. Weber, *Readings in California Catholic History* (Los Angeles, 1967), p. 248.

53. See *La Voz Guadalupeana*, III (September, 1937), Edición Extraordinaria.

54. Robert E. Lucey, *op cit.*, p. 15.



A. P. GIANNINI

*Inscribed:* "Sincerest good wishes to my very good friend and co-worker Dwight Clarke.

A. P. Giannini  
S.F. 9/24/41"

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# The Gianninis — Men of the Renaissance

By DWIGHT L. CLARKE

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The bells of St. Mary's Cathedral on Van Ness Avenue in San Francisco were tolling slowly for the funeral Mass of Amadeo Peter Giannini, founder of the Bank of America, the largest bank in the world. It was June 6, 1949. A vast throng overflowed the wide steps leading up to the doors of the Cathedral where they were unable to find places within the huge interior. A much smaller procession of mourners drove out to Holy Cross cemetery. Three of us who were honorary pall bearers rode together. Two of them were officers of the Bank of America: Carl F. Wentz and Clark S. Beise. Each of them was destined to become president of the bank, Wentz in 1952 and Beise in 1954.

Besides the relatives and friends, those gathered at Holy Cross were mostly employees of the bank and of Transamerica Corporation and subsidiary companies.

On returning to the city, I went in to the bank. I heard that L. M. (Mario) Giannini, A. P. Giannini's son, then president of the Bank of America, was in his office and stepped in to offer my sympathy. He urged me to sit down; it was evident that he wanted to talk about his father. He seemed in a relaxed and thoughtful mood as if all business problems had been swept away.

"I was glad to see you out at the cemetery," he mused. "A. P. was very fond of you and would have liked you to be there. I appreciate your coming up from Los Angeles and going out to the grave."

Assuring him that after so many years of association with his father, of course I wanted to show him this last mark of respect.

"You were one of his boys on whom he always felt he could depend," Mario went on. "You knew him for many years."

I had first met his father in 1916, quite a number of years before I became an employee of any of his institutions. After seeing A. P. on a few occasions at that time, our paths had not again crossed for eleven years. I spoke of how typical it was of his father's phenomenal memory that when we once more met, he remembered me instantly.

As we continued these reminiscences, I voiced the conviction that A. P. Giannini, through his successful development of branch banking, had both hastened and strengthened the growth of California. The economic, socio-

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logical, and political consequences of the great depression of the thirties would have been far more traumatic without California's branch banking systems. In the long view of history, that might prove to have been the greatest of A. P.'s achievements.

"I view your father much as I think of our early California pioneers of Gold Rush Days," I told Mario. "He was a pioneer too, rather than the stereotyped modern business man, distinctly an individual and a throwback to an earlier age. In many respects he resembled the great Florentines of the Renaissance, men like Lorenzo de Medici. Though probably impossible of proof, with his Italian blood, he may well have descended from some of them, because, like them, he was bold, courageous, and possessed of vision."

It was characteristic of Mario Giannini that he listened intently to this characterization of his father as a pioneer. He expressed neither agreement nor disagreement, but seemed to be weighing my words. Only when I described A. P. as a throwback to the Renaissance did his face lighten. The suggestion very plainly fired his imagination.

"I've never thought of that before," he smiled. "You may be right. His parents did come from that part of Italy. It's an interesting theory."

With the added perspective of the intervening years, my observations to Mario on the day of his father's funeral remain fixed in my mind. My long business association with A. P. Giannini included equally close and continuous contacts for many years with two other important members of his family—Mario, and A. P.'s brother, Dr. A. H. Giannini. It follows logically that any appellation befitting A. P. because of racial descent must apply to others of his blood; otherwise my thought is nothing more than a whimsical figure of speech. Actually, recalling the personalities of Mario and Dr. Giannini reinforces my theory—if we can so dignify this idea. Both in similarities and differences of temperament and behavior, they resembled Renaissance Florentines just as strongly as did A. P. Giannini.

During the interval since A. P.'s death, science has pushed back the frontiers of our knowledge of the field of genetics. Such discoveries have been made about heredity—the nature and functions of genes—as to make even such lay speculation as mine more credible. 1968's Nobel laureates in physiology, Drs. Marshall M. Nirenberg, H. G. Khorana, and Robert Holley, have identified and described the tiny packets of hereditary information contained on the chromosomes in each of the human body's billions of cells. According to those savants, these packets tell each cell what to do and when; in short, our genes not only govern how our bodies function, but determine largely who and what each of us is, and how we look and behave.

Therefore, when one studies the traits and performances of an outstanding figure like A. P. Giannini, and reads also of the characteristics displayed by famous leaders of his race in past centuries, it now seems less fantastic or imaginative to claim kinship for Giannini with men of the Renaissance. In



the light of the new genetics, such assumptions become more reasonable; the gap between knowledge and guesswork a trifle less unbridgeable.

Historians describe the Italians of the Renaissance, the Medicis, Sforzas, Strozis, and even such contrasting figures as Machiavelli and Savonarola, Dante and Boccaccio, as bold, brave, restless, and energetic. They delighted in life and therefore responded to the humanism that was ushering in the modern world. They were impatient with outworn ideas. They respected precedents only so long as they were relevant to the present. The spirit of inquiry and experimentation stirred them more than dogma and abstract ideology. Theirs was the pragmatic approach and therefore to most of them, the end justified the means, even when tempered by their ancient faith. The more worldly among them, and most were worldly, respected the Church and its teachings more from custom than because of passionate devotion. Admittedly there was a darker side. As one authority on the Renaissance has put it: "Italian society exhibited an almost unexampled spectacle of literary, artistic and courtly refinement crossed by brutalities of lust, treasons, poisonings, assassinations, violence."<sup>1</sup> That was written in the nineteenth century about humanity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. From today's vantage point — more than two-thirds through the twentieth century — how far have we progressed? As one ponders this question, the Italians of the Renaissance seem closer to modern man.

After that first acquaintance with A. P. Giannini back in 1916, our next meeting occurred in August, 1927, immediately after his purchase of the Security Trust Company in Bakersfield, of which I was vice-president and manager. A. P.'s emissary, a friend of each of us, had approached me with the initial offer, and the deal had been closed soon afterwards. In the course of the negotiations, this intermediary had told me that A. P. remembered me and wished me to continue to run the local institution if he purchased it. Immediately after the conclusion of the transaction, the same man suggested that I go to San Francisco to get better acquainted with Mr. Giannini.

At that time A. P. had his office on Montgomery Street near Clay. I think it was in the quarters of the old Bancitaly Corporation (predecessor to the later Transamerica). His desk was on a raised platform at the rear of a large room where many clerks and stenographers worked at desks facing him. When I entered, the scene reminded me of a schoolroom with the teacher at his desk. Another caller was seated on the platform with A. P., who waved me to a chair; he would see me in a few minutes.

After we had shaken hands, A. P. startled me by recalling the circumstances of our first meeting. He remembered the man who had introduced us and named several others who had been present, even mentioned a short auto ride a few of us had taken together.

This was very typical of A. P.'s memory. His was a photographic mind on which men's faces, their words, and actions seemed to be indelibly etched.

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<sup>1</sup>14th Edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol XIX, p 128



LAWRENCE M. (MARIO) GIANNINI

*Inscribed:* "To my good friend and associate Dwight with sincere regards.

Mario Giannini



DR. A. H. GIANNINI

One instance of this occurred while A. P. and I were visiting the South Pasadena branch of the Bank of America in the 1930's. We were examining some papers at the manager's platform. A customer paused in the lobby and sought the manager's attention. He had recognized Mr. Giannini and was anxious to greet him. A. P. stepped into the lobby to meet the man.

"I know you don't remember me," the customer began, "but I met you long ago in San Francisco and wanted to . . ."

As was his habit on such occasions, A. P. vigorously thrust out his hand but raised the other to interrupt the visitor.

"Don't tell me your name," he spoke briskly, tilting his head back a little and his eyes narrowing as if to concentrate. "You are (calling his name). You sold us the steel for our Bank of Italy building at Clay and Montgomery in San Francisco in (naming the year). You had a brother in business with you; you lived over in Berkeley. How are you? It's good to see you again." The effect was heightened by the deep, resonant tones of A. P.'s voice that conveyed certainty as well as sincerity.

Amazement filled the man's face. He could only stutter and stammer his astonishment. As we walked out of the branch later, I asked A. P. the secret of his memory; did he use some formula or association pattern? He gave me a startled look as if the question had never before occurred to him. He admitted he could not explain it. It was plain that this invaluable knack was wholly instinctive and unconscious.

This exceptional memory posed certain problems for Mr. Giannini's employees. As one bank officer cynically remarked: "Any liar working for A. P. had better have a mighty good memory." Even the truthful, straightforward associate found it wiser to remember the details about any subject about which he had talked to A. P. over a period of time. He was quick to pounce upon any discrepancy in two versions of the same story. Variances irritated him.

To return to that visit in the Bancitaly office in 1927, A. P. talked of many things. Initially he questioned me about the bank he had just acquired, and commented on his plans for incorporating it into a new statewide branch system he was about to start. His talk was largely rapid fire queries and observations that dealt briefly with many topics and personalities, but never descended to small talk or gossip. He then expressed his personal philosophy:

"I don't want to make a lot of money for myself," he shook his head vigorously. "I have enough now for my family. I can only eat three meals a day. I can only wear one suit at a time. We only need one house to live in. Why be greedy? If I amassed a lot more wealth, I would just be piling up worries for myself. No, Clarke, I want to run a good, clean bank, treat our customers right, make loans that will do the most good in the communities where we operate. If we do that, the men and women who work for our bank can be sure of a decent living all around"

This sounded very clear and simple, deceptively simple, later observations

taught me. "This is a plain, blunt, restless, and energetic man," I told myself. "I like him already. I believe we understand each other. We can get along." What impressed me most were his directness, positiveness, and rapid mental processes. The first two attributes seemed to rule out guile or deviousness. His deep, full tones poured forth his thoughts so rapidly that the hearer was apt to become breathless as he strove to keep pace with the speaker's mind.

After the lapse of many years, there is nothing I would change in my reactions to my first real interview with A. P. Giannini. But there is much to add to complete the picture, for the plain, simple man was also a highly complex personality. I have seldom, if ever, seen anyone to compare with him.

The history of banking in California records few careers so full of melodrama and crises. His restless energy drove him to use each advantage gained as a spring board for further progress. While not avaricious, he enjoyed the heady wine of success. Staid, orthodox competitors looked askance at some of his methods. They were sure that any success so gained must prove temporary. They repeatedly predicted disaster for A. P.'s enterprises—and eagerly awaited the fulfillment of their prophecies. Meanwhile, they feared, disliked, and distrusted him.

It was instinctive for A. P. to move swiftly and boldly to carry out his plans. Scornful of technicalities which delayed or hampered him, he occasionally proceeded so rapidly as to lay himself open to charges of disregarding—his enemies called it violating—some statutory requirement. He was so convinced that what he was doing was right and in the interests of his stockholders, depositors, and borrowers, that he resented many regulatory procedures as senseless obstructions in his path. If a supervisory authority withheld approval on an application for a new bank charter, a permit to open a branch, or any other administrative step—and seemed to be dragging his feet, A. P. was quick to ascribe the delay to an enemy's plot. With him, a suspicion could grow quickly, and his reaction was apt to be more forceful than diplomatic. Because it was foreign to his nature to run away from a fight, he undoubtedly precipitated a few which more patience and tact might have avoided.

Inevitably these outbursts enlivened the columns of the press. A. P. was always good copy. Often the stories grew in the telling. Many were blown up from rumor with scant regard for the facts. They all kept A. P. in the limelight, but also portrayed a different man than the real individual.

In time some of his opponents believed he possessed an insatiable appetite for more and more banks which by every manner of trick and device he could merge into his financial empire. It is not my intention to write a full chronicle of these clashes with officialdom nor the heated contests with various competitors. That would constitute too lengthy a story. More than one such account of them is already in print.<sup>2</sup> However some of the details that came to my own attention more fully reveal the A. P. Giannini I knew.

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<sup>2</sup>Julian Dana, *A. P. Giannini, Giant in the West* (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1947), and Marquis and Bessie Rowland James, *Biography of a Bank* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1954.)

When his wrath was aroused by serious opposition, he was no respecter of persons. One memorable incident stands out. A. P. had vigorously supported F. D. Roosevelt in the 1932 Presidential campaign. Perhaps he had not anticipated any special favors from the incoming administration, but at least he felt certain of a fair break on some of the unsettled questions at issue between his banking interests and the Federal Reserve Board and the Securities Exchange Commission. A number of his leading adversaries in California, especially in the Los Angeles area, had been ardent supporters of President Hoover, and it was like him to blame some of his setbacks on their behind-the-scenes influence in Washington. He was confident that the New Deal would be a fair one so far as he and his bank were concerned. Therefore it came as a severe shock when Henry Morgenthau, Roosevelt's Secretary of the Treasury, not long after taking office, issued certain rulings that A. P. felt were prejudiced and contrary to the assurances he had received. He grabbed a telephone, called Morgenthau in Washington and bluntly accused him of giving aid and comfort to A. P.'s enemies, despite their strong support of Hoover. Morgenthau hotly denied the charge and the conversation degenerated into a shouting match which A. P. ended by virtually calling the Secretary of the Treasury a liar!

Dr. A. H. Giannini was in the room while his brother was on the telephone and remarked afterwards, "I don't know where A. P. gets his courage!" The Doctor dramatically lifted his hands to the heavens, "I'm his brother, but I am afraid to beard the lion in his den like that. Think of calling the Secretary of the Treasury a fraud and a liar! I never knew anyone like A. P. I don't believe he was ever afraid of anyone in his life, man or devil or God Almighty! They must have put something in him that they left out of George and me." (George was the youngest of the Giannini brothers.)

Morgenthau from that time on proved to be a deadly enemy, but I never heard of A. P. voicing regrets for his outburst. If he thought a man was a liar or a knave, he relished telling him so to his face. The fact that the other fellow stood in a position of great power, of life and death over an institution perhaps, did not in the least deter him. Maybe this was courage, maybe rashness, but it was certainly A. P. Giannini.

Unfriendly competitors in California and hostile officialdom in Washington were untiring in battling the Giannini interests. In 1938 the Securities Exchange Commission filed sensational charges against Transamerica Corporation, alleging among many things that its accounting methods were unsound and showed fictitious profits. Worst of all was the release by the SEC of pretrial publicity containing many unproven allegations. Their source of information was plainly the Treasury Department, still presided over by Secretary Morgenthau. Despite anything that Washington could contrive, this case fizzled out in 1947. Meanwhile, however, Morgenthau and Marriner Eccles, Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, sought other ways of checkmating Mr. Giannini. This continued after Morgenthau's retirement, following President Roosevelt's death. Now, according to one historian's report of the litigation, Eccles and the Federal Reserve Board declared themselves determined "to proceed against Trans-

america and the Bank of America by means of every weapon and agency within reach."<sup>3</sup>

The Board charged Transamerica with violations of the Clayton Act. It named one of its members, Rudolph M. Evans, as "hearing officer" to pass on the charges. J. Leonard Townsend, the same attorney who had pressed the unsuccessful attacks before the Securities Exchange Commission, represented the Board. Since Commissioner Evans was not a lawyer, an attorney in the employ of the Federal Reserve Board sat at his side throughout the many hearings in Washington and San Francisco, to advise him whenever he made a ruling.

These hearings were still in progress when A. P. Giannini died in 1949, and the bitter and protracted battle would go on until the United States Court of Appeals handed down its verdict that overturned the Federal Reserve Board's decision against Transamerica and the Bank of America. That appellate court judgment also vindicated both A. P. and L. M. Giannini, though, ironically enough, after both of them were dead, Mario having passed away on August 14, 1952.

In those final court proceedings, one of the most telling arguments against the Federal Reserve Board's rulings was that it had excluded a great amount of evidence and testimony offered by the defendants to disprove the monopoly charge.

I was one of the witnesses so excluded. While I had no personal interest in the outcome, other than as a small stockholder of Transamerica and had retired from my position as president of one of the corporation's subsidiaries, I resented the arbitrary rulings handed down by Evans. Invariably they echoed Townsend's polemics. I still have a note made immediately after returning from the hearing. Mr. Sam Stewart, Transamerica's counsel, called me to the stand at the start of one day's proceedings. I was allowed to state my name, address, occupation, etc., but thereafter sat silent while the attorneys argued over the admissibility of any of my testimony. My note just mentioned says: "Evans reminded me of the dummy, Charley McCarthy, with the whispering attorney at his side as Edgar Bergen!" It was a travesty of one-sided rulings and arbitrary exclusion of any and all testimony favorable to Transamerica or the Gianninis. For example, Evans refused to let me testify to what I had reported to A. P. Giannini on certain matters concerning which letters were offered in evidence. Townsend objected that *my* testimony about what *I* myself had said to Mr. A. P. Giannini would be "hearsay!"

Mr. Giannini of course was no longer living, but Mr. Stewart had offered letters which A. P. had written to me and carbon copies of my letters to him. These dealt with sundry negotiations about the purchase of various banks. One exchange of letters seemed to me especially strong evidence against the ogre Townsend was striving to draw of an insatiable Giannini hungering for more and more banks. A broker had offered me a modest-sized block of stock in a well known bank in one of the larger centers of Southern California. This was during

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<sup>3</sup>James, *Biography*, p. 498.



the depths of the depression and the price asked was quite low. The number of shares was far less than control, but it could form a nucleus for later additions so I wrote A. P. about it. His reply instructed me not to pursue the matter. His letter is no longer available, but in effect it said, "This is a good bank. We always should have a good competitor in sizeable centers where we have branches. We don't want to monopolize all the banking in major towns."

Here I was on the witness stand, the man who had transmitted the offer, and here was A. P.'s reply over his signature. Not a word of it went into the record. There were other instances of excluded correspondence and barred telephone conversations that placed A. P. Giannini in a favorable light, but Townsend, Evans and the latter's whispering mentor would have none of them.

Did not both law and equity favor the re-creation of the *whole* A. P. Giannini, not a two dimensional caricature redrawn by Mr. Townsend's biased hand? I literally sat silently on the witness stand for hours, and finally departed without having uttered a word beyond my initial identification. This experience lowered my respect for law and lawyers! Finally in July, 1953, the United States Court of Appeals set aside the Federal Reserve Board's adverse three-to-two decision, declaring that it had failed to prove its monopoly charges against Transamerica. Subsequently the Supreme Court declined to review the case. That final verdict belatedly restored some of my respect for the law.

Unlike many executives, Mr. Giannini was not content to sit in a private office from which he could issue orders to keep his subordinates busy. He always insisted on having a desk in a large open room, surrounded by other workers, where he could not only see what transpired but be accessible to high and low, both within the organization as well as chance callers from outside it. When the new headquarters of the Bank of America was opened at 300 Montgomery Street, a large, beautifully furnished office at the rear of the executive department was prepared for Mr. Giannini. He is said to have viewed it with a frown and stamped out of the room, snorting, "Get me a desk out *here*!" I visited him "out here" many times but cannot recall ever seeing him in his sumptuous private office.

He expected hard, diligent effort by the officers under him, but when tedious, gruelling tasks had to be performed, he would jump into the fray with energy and enthusiasm and work long and hard to get the job done. In the process he frequently wore out younger associates and at the end of a long day would seem the freshest and most bouyant of the laboring group.

He was blessed with a strong constitution and his bodily energy renewed itself after a minimum of rest. Mrs. A. P. Giannini told me once that her husband seldom slept more than four or five hours a night. By five in the morning he would be fully awake long before the rest of the household, and eager to start another day's activities. This habit may have survived from his years in the produce commission business where the daily round began before dawn.

This work habit was especially exemplified following his victory in his famous proxy battle of 1932 with Elisha Walker for the control of Transamerica and the



Bank of America. That struggle was in itself enough to exhaust a normal man. But no sooner had he won his victory than A. P., once more in control, resolved to make his own examination of the bank's assets and devise the ways and means necessary to collect slow or doubtful loans, rebuild confidence and morale in its staff, and above all restore its standing with the public.

Such a tour of inspection and investigation was anything but a pleasing prospect in 1932. Banks were failing all over the country. Public utilities and large industrial enterprises were going bankrupt. Many factories were closed, unemployment increasing, commodity prices, especially in agriculture, plummeting to all time lows. Doubt and gloom pervaded men's minds everywhere.

Yet A. P. proposed to visit every branch of the Bank of America in the entire state. This was not to be formal, publicized visitations resembling a triumphal procession, but a small group of two or three bank officers headed by A. P. which would call on each branch without previous announcement to inspect all loans and the credit information, appraisals, etc., supporting them.

This series of visits started in the late summer of 1932, and continued through the fall and winter months with only brief interruptions. A. P. personally visited every branch, took an active part in the examination and worked as assiduously as any of his "crew." He was the only officer who covered the entire state in this process, for while two or more associates went along on every trip, these changed as he moved from region to region. The Bank of America was divided into seven districts then, and the senior officer in charge of loans and operations in each district usually was one of the party. Sometimes one or more of the top executives in San Francisco were also included. It was my lot to accompany A. P. on several trips through Southern California during which we visited nearly a hundred branches.

The typical day started by our calling on a branch about eight o'clock in the morning. (Usually we had arrived in town the previous evening.) The startled manager, whom A. P. invariably remembered, would be asked to join us in a conference room, with his notes and loan papers, to assist us in our review. He was plied with questions and instructed as to what action to take on every questionable item. Most of these local bankers were loyal, well-meaning men. Sometimes they had fallen into a rut, or been overcome by pessimism and a sense of defeat.

In smaller branches, A. P. looked at every loan and discussed it briefly. In larger offices, we divided into teams of two, which worked simultaneously on the heavier volume of paper. Regardless of which group discovered major problems, a general discussion would ensue about them. While A. P.'s avowed purpose in making these tours was to familiarize himself with the bank's condition, there were additional benefits derived from them. The capacity and degree of experience of the branch officers were tested in a most practical way. Also, before we terminated each call, A. P. had given the local officers a stimulating exhortation to help him get the bank restored to the best possible condition. He made these men feel they were fellow workers on whom he depended. He

would be watching their performance, he would always be on call to help them if they encountered situations where he was needed. If their performance matched his hopes, he promised that he would remember that. It was interesting to contrast the gloomy, sometimes fearful mood we encountered when we entered a branch, with the cheerful, buoyant air that prevailed as we took our departure.

At each branch visited, Mr. Giannini took time to walk through the work space and greet the employees. Almost everywhere there would be a few of them whom he remembered from previous visits and called by name. Nearly as often he would astonish some clerk or stenographer by mentioning details about her family.

Usually before our departure from one branch, we would telephone to the next bank we planned to visit. If the hour was late, we would ask the manager to wait for us and not to set the time lock on his vault, so that we might examine his loans. It was our practice to work around the clock, finishing the day at eight or nine in the evening. This routine would be repeated for several days. It was hard, tedious work that called for concentration and rapid decisions.

When these tours were finished, A. P. Giannini certainly knew all he needed to know about the bank whose control he had recaptured and what had to be done to set its house in order. I doubt if any chief executive of any major bank in our time ever conducted such a practical and thorough examination of his institution.

Yet even though this was an arduous, time-consuming chore devoted to serious problems, it had its lighter moments which A. P. enjoyed as much as any of us. I recall one branch in a small farming community where there was only a moderate number of loans. In this file we found quite a few cases of unsecured notes of elderly borrowers who, though honest, were apparently not very successful. As such instances kept recurring, A. P. impulsively launched into a harangue about the folly of lending money, especially on an unsecured basis, to elderly people. "Men as old as I am," he shook his head and referred to himself by an uncomplimentary name, "if we haven't made our stake before fifty or so, we're not good risks. Remember that and quit lending money to old men." Almost immediately after this outburst, we picked up a note for a few hundred dollars, dog-eared and long past due. So many payments of interest and occasional nominal reductions of principal had had to be endorsed upon it that two or three additional sheets of paper had been stapled to the original note to provide space. A. P. fingered it gingerly and snorted, "Who is this fellow?" "He has a small chicken farm just outside of town." "How old is he?" "Oh, about sixty-eight, I guess." "Sixty-eight!" A. P. pushed back his chair, "Damnation, man, you should know better than to make an unsecured loan to an old man like that!" "But, Mr. Giannini," the manager protested almost tearfully, "he *wasn't* an old man when I loaned him the money."

A. P.'s guffaw must have been heard a block away "Come on, boys," he jumped up, "he wasn't an old man when the loan was made! Let's get out of here "

A very different incident occurred on one of these tours which narrowly missed ending in tragedy. Probably very few persons besides A. P. himself ever knew of it.

He made this round of visits to the branches in a seven passenger Cadillac driven by his chauffeur. A. P. viewed auto travel as a necessary but time-consuming interruption of business. Therefore, he demanded a car capable of high speed and a driver who would transport him from place to place in the shortest possible time. On such rides he preferred to sit at the driver's right, so that he could best view the passing countryside, soil and crop conditions, the condition of the cattle grazing near the roadside. These details he studied and stored in his memory.

On the occasion in question, four of us were en route from Santa Maria to Lompoc in the fall of 1932. As usual, A. P. was in the right front seat, Carl Wente in the rear seat behind the driver, and I was in the right rear seat. Apparently, A. P., when he entered the car, had not closed the door tightly. (This was before the days of seat belts!) As the car, going at least sixty miles an hour, swung around a sharp curve to the left, the right hand door flew open and A. P. lunged outward. His left hand grabbed the rear of the seat, while I leaned forward and clutched his shoulder. Because of the wide space required by the jump seat, I had only a slight hold on his shoulder. In less time than it takes to recount it, he managed to pull himself back with his left hand. No one had said a word. The driver slackened speed while A. P. slammed the door. Carl Wente and I exchanged startled glances. He looked pale and doubtless my face was white too.

In that split second, the terrible possibilities raced through my mind. Had Mr. Giannini been hurled onto the pavement at the speed we were going, he almost surely would have been killed. With the proxy fight just behind him and all his unfinished plans for rebuilding the bank, the consequences were too staggering to contemplate. I do not recall that we ever discussed his narrow escape. It was like him never to refer to it.

In 1932 a few of us spent several days in the San Diego area with A. P. where there were many branches of the Bank of America and a large volume of loans to review. Together with several of the local officers, we worked long hours so as to finish our task by the weekend. On Saturday night, A. P. invited the crowd to drive down to Tijuana for a good dinner at the best café across the border. This was during Prohibition and as soon as we crossed the line, A. P. led us into a large bar. While very fond of good California wines, he was no man for strong drinks. I do not recall ever seeing him take a high ball or cocktail. On this occasion he led off by ordering a very unusual pre-dinner drink, a Grand Marnier. After every one had downed his choice, A. P. ordered a second round. As the glasses were raised, he suddenly became very serious and set his own down.

"Now, fellows," he admonished us, "let's not make a habit of this!" In the laughter that followed, his was the loudest.

On that same visit to San Diego, A. P. had driven over from El Centro with

Will Morrish and Carl Wentz. I drove down directly from Los Angeles to meet them at the El Cortez Hotel. Arriving in the evening, there was a note inviting me to have breakfast with them in the parlor of their suite. I shall never forget my astonishment on walking into the room. Here already seated at the table were the Chairman of the Board, the President and an Executive Vice-President of the Bank of America, fully dressed from the waist up but all of them in B.V.D.'s from the waist down! In the long hot day in the Imperial Valley their trousers had become badly wrinkled, so they had sent them out to be pressed before they retired. The valet had not brought them back in time for breakfast, but A. P. would not let a detail like that delay the business of the day.

I have spoken of A. P.'s fondness for wine and very properly emphasize California wine. Giannini was undoubtedly the best unpaid promoter of California wines that the state has ever known. On his frequent trips to New York and Florida, he habitually ordered wine with his meals. Woe to the feckless waiter who served him anything other than a California vintage. That café would be certain to have California wines in its cellars the next time A. P. Giannini was a patron.

Naturally California vintners appreciated this super-salesmanship. One of them expressed this in a most gracious manner in the fall of 1934. A. P. invited me to accompany him to a dinner in his honor that the Italian Vineyard Company was giving at the Guasti Vineyard near Rialto. He had asked his hosts to include the two executive vice-presidents who supervised the southern districts of the Bank of America. James P. Normanly had charge of all the branches in the city of Los Angeles; I was in charge of all of them in the ten southern counties outside the city limits of Los Angeles.

Thus Normanly and I were among the twelve guests at this party in A. P.'s honor. The banquet, for it proved to be so elaborate as to merit no less a term, was given in a beautiful two-storied dining hall with hand carved panelling on the walls and ceiling. No cocktails or highballs preceded the dinner, but with each course, wine was served, especially chosen to accompany that particular food. Whoever planned the menu must have been a gourmet par excellence, for the well-balanced meal was delicious. Each guest must have consumed considerable wine, but even so, the diners while pleasantly stimulated showed not the slightest sign of intoxication.

On this occasion, A. P. Giannini's innate courtesy manifested itself. Everyone present, save Normanly and myself, was of Italian blood. A. P. sat at one end of the table with Normanly and me on either side of him. The group chatted gaily in Italian and addressed most of their remarks to Mr. Giannini. Each time one of them did so, he would raise his hand: "Speak English — these friends of mine don't understand Italian. What was it you were saying?"

In the Presidential campaign of 1932, A. P. Giannini, as previously noted, was most outspoken in his support of the Roosevelt ticket. I was in A. P.'s company a great deal during that campaign and its prospects and developments were

repeatedly discussed at mealtimes or as we drove from branch to branch. I had been for Herbert Hoover ever since he first ran in the Presidential primaries in California in the 1920's, and made no secret of the fact that I planned to vote for him in November. A. P. missed no chance of showing me the error of my ways. He said he was surprised to find so intelligent a man so blind to the shortcomings of the Hoover administration and the necessity for a change. Didn't I know that all our bank's enemies were backing Hoover? When was I going to wake up, etc., etc.? Some of it was said in raillery, even ridicule, but never was there any hint that my position in his organization depended on my political loyalties.

While on the defensive, these sallies did not really embarrass me. Of course, when Roosevelt swept the country, A. P. was jubilant. "What did I tell you we'd do to your man Hoover?" he cried out the first time he saw me after the election. I let him exult and held my fire; this was one of those rare times when I was going to have the last laugh.

Months wore into years and A. P. became first surprised, then disillusioned about the new administration. Before the next election, his battles with Secretary Morgenthau had completely alienated him. On one occasion, probably during the 1936 campaign, he burst into a tirade against these treacherous bureaucrats and double-dealing politicians. Didn't I think the country had gotten its fill of them, etc., etc.? Now it was my turn to gloat. "Welcome to our party, A. P.," I laughed, "at last you have seen the light. Remember I have been against them all the time. I don't have to change. I'm glad to find you're on our side." He gave me a startled look, snorted a sort of half chuckle and abruptly changed the subject.

His fondness for banter and repartee frequently showed itself in his contacts with the staff. More than once loan officers triumphantly reported the final collection of a troublesome loan. Quite evidently the subordinate hoped for commendation for his successful efforts. "Huh," A. P. would snort, "that was a good loan." "A good loan, A. P.?" would be the aggrieved answer. "Why that has been listed as doubtful or a work out for years. The bank examiners wanted to charge it off as a loss!"

"I don't care, if it hadn't been a good loan, how in hell could you have collected it, my boy?" this last with a hearty laugh that foreclosed further discussion.

Despite his tireless energy and devotion to hard work, he could relax and enjoy life too. Here again, did he not resemble the ancient Florentines? For years his favorite place to lunch was Louis Fashion's restaurant on O'Farrell Street just west of Powell in San Francisco. There he had a special table where he would be joined by several of the bank's officers. Al Sbarboro, William Blauer, George Panario, William Harrelson, and Louis Ferrari were frequent lunch companions. Occasionally an old friend from outside the bank like Ash Stuart would drop in. Unlike the practice so prevalent in today's San Francisco business circles, cocktails or highballs were seldom if ever ordered at those lunches. There may have been wine occasionally for some. Good food in fairly modest quantities, prepared by the Italian chefs, was lustily consumed to the accompaniment of shop talk and

news of the day, but far more important was the box of dice that was always brought by a waiter when A. P. appeared. That dice box seemed the chief reason for the group's going to lunch. It determined who would pay the check! You had to be a regular attendant to play. Occasional visitors at the table paid their own bills, but A. P. and the usual patrons from the bank gave that dice game all the serious concentration, accompanied by loud banter and boasting, that would have been aroused by the largest loan in business hours. If A. P. could "stick" one of his companions for the cost of the lunch, his delight knew no bounds. His hearty laughter proclaimed that as the most joyous moment of the day.

Giannini was basically a nonconformist. The fact that the great mass of mankind did something a certain way or avoided something else was no good rule of conduct. The reason for certain customs or regulations had to appeal as right and logical, or he would seek his own alternative course.

Naturally in a large organization such as the Bank of America had become, procedures and methods had to be standardized. A. P. himself must have subscribed to that in theory. What was known as the Rule Book, a loose-leaf compendium of instructions on every detail known to banking practice, thus had come into being. Usually it was closely followed by the staff. With his habit of direct approach to problems, A. P.'s recognition of Rule Book provisions was, to say the least, sketchy, and infrequent. On occasions when he would investigate some error or irregularity and give orders for its immediate correction, a subordinate might fearfully interpose that such action would violate a provision of the Rule Book. A. P. would scowl and mutter under his breath something that sounded like, "throw that damned rule book in the trash can and get this thing *fixed, right away!*" Orders of this sort were not always meant to be literally obeyed, but the wise bank officer usually knew when to cut through red tape and apply emergency measures.

The same swift and direct mental approach made Giannini less than respectful towards committees that tried to substitute their collective judgment for performance by an executive able to assume responsibility for decisions. On one occasion a branch under my supervision had badly outgrown its quarters. Based on our close study of the situation, two or three of us recommended enlargement of the banking room which was physically quite easy to accomplish. A head office committee many miles away disapproved our proposal and so we continued to have lines of people that overflowed the cramped space. I made a point of driving A. P. to that particular town to show him the situation. He gave the premises one look and angrily demanded, "Why don't you knock out that wall and make more room?" "Because the Bank Premises Committee has turned down my proposal to do just that." "What do they know about it," he growled, "how many of them have ever been in this branch?" "Very few," I admitted. "Then go ahead and do it yourself," he snapped, "if they object, refer them to me."

The branch was enlarged in short order, but at the cost of my own unpopularity with the Committee that had been overridden. This branch continued to grow

at an accelerated rate and in a comparatively few years the bank had to erect another much larger building. By then, I was no longer an officer of the bank but derived some satisfaction from seeing our course vindicated.

Mr. Giannini deeply and instinctively distrusted bureaucracies, first because they stifle individual initiative and enterprise, and secondly because they cast a dehumanizing and deadening pall over mankind. His distrust of committees grew out of their tendency, often unconscious, to grow into bureaucracies. He recognized that committees are essential to formulate general policies and pass on plans and proposals, but inefficient and time-consuming when they undertake to administer routine operations and substitute their group self for the individual banker on the firing line.

Mr. Giannini always favored a positive approach to any problem. He disliked the word "No." In time there came to be known throughout the bank what was called the "A. P. Giannini turn-down." He disapproved of having his bank officers give a flat "No" to a request for a loan. "Try to find a way you can safely make it," he urged. If the applicant had a wife with means of her own, or a well-to-do brother, father or other relative, suggest that he try to get that person to sign or endorse the note. If the bank officer was not satisfied as to the man's integrity, suggest that he encumber a clear parcel of real estate or even pledge some personal property. Then if the would-be borrower still refused to follow any of these courses, A. P. felt that the banker could always say that he had agreed to make the loan, but that the applicant had not met the terms which the bank required for safe lending. He and not the bank had said "No."

Like all strong-minded men, he did not relish having his opinion challenged. But he was big enough to listen to the other man's views; if they were backed up by good arguments, he sometimes modified his previous judgment. He definitely respected any one who had the courage of his convictions. He did not want "yes-men" around him. He might suffer them in silence, but I think his keen mind usually spotted them for what they were. One classic example comes to memory.

As the bank began to emerge from the darker days of the early 30's, no one was more energetic in developing new business than A. P. Giannini. One day he hurried into the Los Angeles main office and told the manager, Joseph Rosenberg, that he had just come from a long visit with a certain prominent motion picture producer. "He needs a million dollars to complete a fine picture," he told Rosenberg, who had had much experience with the movie industry. "He promised us all his business if we'd let him have it. I told him we would lend him the million and for him to see you to fix up the papers." "Will he give us a lien on the film?" asked Rosenberg. "No, but he promised not to pledge it anywhere else, doesn't want to be tied up. It's all right, isn't it?" Rosenberg leaned back in his chair and shook his head. "A. P., I think that is a crazy idea!" "What do you mean, crazy?" He flushed angrily. Rosenberg stood firm, "I mean that in these bad times letting that hombre have a million dollars with no strings



attached is inviting trouble. Just let him get in a tight spot, say the cost of the picture exceeds his estimate, which they have a way of doing, or even if he gets a good offer on some other deal and has to raise money, he'd think nothing of mortgaging that film to some other bank and leave us out on a limb. His unsupported promise not to pledge that film isn't good enough for me."

A. P. looked nonplussed for a moment. "All right," he finally grumbled, "when he comes in, make him fix it up the way you want it."

A junior officer who was within earshot came to me shortly afterwards. "Mr. Clarke, did you hear Mr. Rosenberg tell Mr. Giannini he had a crazy idea?" "Of course I did. What about it?" "I thought A. P. would throw anybody through the window who talked to him like that!" "Bert," I corrected him, "you're right that A. P. didn't like being told that. But deep down he knew that Joe Rosenberg was speaking his honest opinion, based on long, hard experience. If he meekly followed A. P.'s instructions, even when he was convinced it was unsafe, he wouldn't be worth a dime to the bank. The next time A. P. asks Joe's opinion, he will know that what he is told is what Joe believes is right. That's the only kind of opinion A. P. wants. But if you tell him he is mistaken about something, be sure you have the facts to back up what you say."

A. P. was impatient with details. When he had resolved on a course of action, he told his assistants to "wrap it up." They knew he expected them to do that thoroughly. He avoided the long debates that sometimes arose as to alternative methods of accomplishing an objective. His mind aimed straight at the final target. Lengthy preliminaries were not only time-consuming, but dangerous. Something might happen, someone might die, while days were lost in protocol or red tape. It became a byword in the bank that when an officer told a subordinate to carry out one of A. P.'s orders, if the junior asked when the task must be finished, he would be told, "A. P. wants it last week."

The same impatience prompted his dislike for lengthy letters. He may occasionally have read through some of them, but usually if a letter ran over one page, he would toss it to a secretary with a frown, "tell me what he says." The secretary would blue pencil the salient portions and these would be all that he read; yet he would remember the essentials of that communication often better than the man who had written it.

One might reason from these last observations that A. P. was careless about little things. It was one of the surprising complexities in his nature that he was more painstaking than the average executive. If he had to do something for himself, "good enough" was not good enough for him. I still have a couple of his letters illustrative of this quality. One is a carbon copy he sent me of a typewritten letter to a certain public official. Its closing words were "with sentiments and esteem." The next day came A. P.'s own handwritten note about the same matter. He ended: "Oh, Dwight, I noted that the closing of \_\_\_\_\_'s letter was in error which I didn't catch last night. The 'and' before esteem should have been 'of'." Some blots on this note prompted him to add, "P S, Bum hotel pen & ink,

A. P. G." Probably he sent a similar correction to the addressee of the original letter.

He enjoyed the heady wine of success, and sometimes I thought he valued his power itself far more than anything that power could get for him. He must have been aware of his personal magnetism. Several times reference has been made to the deep resonance of his voice; it sounded like the voice of authority. Bystanders would turn when he spoke, even when they did not know him. They were conscious that a leader was speaking. With all of his concentration on serious business, he retained to the last a fondness for using that magnetism when the mood seized him, much as many grown men revert at times to boyhood pranks. Russell Smith, one of the senior officers of the Bank of America during A. P.'s regime, told some of us of an incident illustrative of this side of Giannini's nature. Smith frequently traveled with A. P. on bank business in the East. On one of these trips, they were returning from New York to Chicago by train with several officials of a large national corporation, which was a valued customer of the bank. They were due to arrive on the opening day of the new Chicago Civic Opera House. A. P., as might be expected from his Italian blood, was very fond of opera and talked about the opening on the train. Smith was amazed when he invited all in the group to be his guests at dinner and then go to the opening night at the new opera house. When he could speak privately with his chief, Smith asked if he had reservations for that evening. "No," admitted A. P., showing no concern, "but I'll get them." Later at the hotel Smith heard him phone unsuccessfully to several ticket agencies. Smith himself began to worry as he envisioned these important customers turned away from the opera doors. A. P. seemed entirely unperturbed. They enjoyed a very good dinner and taxied to the playhouse. "I never saw such colossal nerve in my life," Smith shook his head as he recalled the episode. "A. P. walked straight up to the box office, wallet in hand, and announced 'A. P. Giannini's six tickets, please. How much are they?'" The man turned and ran through his reservations. "Sorry, sir, I haven't any in that name." "Come now," A. P. frowned, "they must be there. Here I am with the friends I've invited for to-night's opera. Please look again, young man." "What did you say the name was?" The ticket clerk was now visibly worried. "A. P. Giannini of San Francisco." This time the name boomed out with all the force for which its owner was famous. Red-faced, the man resumed his fumbling through the tickets, and at last passed six of them through the window, with an apology for keeping him waiting. "That's all right, my boy," A. P. was his most genial self as he paid for the tickets. "I never want to play poker with a guy who can bluff like that," Smith mused, "and they were good seats, too, right down in the fourth or fifth row center."

In closing these recollections of A. P. Giannini and his colorful career, something should be added about the man's appearance. He was tall, two inches over six feet, with broad shoulders, a large man but muscular and sinewy; his step always brisk and determined like his speech. He wore a short-cropped moustache. His hazel eyes were deep-set with flecks of darker color; usually they

were partly closed but frequently twinkling as he indulged in quip or banter. He had abundant wavy dark brown hair that in his later years was iron gray but never white. Mr. Giannini shunned formal speech making; I am sure he was sincere when he protested that he was "no speaker." That may have been true as to prepared addresses, but for the quick give and take of spur of the moment occasions when he felt it necessary to express his opinion, he had no peer for holding an audience with vigor and fluency.

[Part II will appear in the December issue.]

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Impounded People: Japanese-Americans in the Relocation Centers.* By Edward H. Spicer, Asael T. Hansen, Katherine Luomala, and Marvin K. Opler (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1969. 342 pp. \$8.50.) Reviewed by Joe Grant Masaoka.

In 1942, ten tarpaper barracks cities arose in the isolation of deserts and wastelands and Arkansas bottom lands to house 110,000 individuals both immigrants and American citizens of Japanese ancestry—all lumped together as “enemy aliens.” War with the country of their ancestral origin brought down upon them critical suspicions and doubts of their loyalty far greater than was experienced by German and Italian aliens. Western Defense Commander General DeWitt caused them to be put away summarily in these relocation centers. “Military necessity” was his rationale for disregarding their United States citizenship. The United States Supreme Court upheld him.

This eyewitness account written in 1946 with the immediacy of the detention period still fresh by four social scientists who were part of the administrative staff in these camps gives revealing insights into the lives, attitudes, responses, and feelings of 30,000 evacuee families. With expertise they bring back vividly the uncertainties, the doubts, the bitterness, the insecurities, and the turmoils which the center residents experienced. On the other hand, some of the inevitable bungling of government administrators in these strained and unfamiliar circumstances is depicted. These human administrative errors resulted in the ultimate human wreckage in which some evacuees gave up their United States citizenship.

In 1946 the War Relocation Authority published *Impounded People* as one of a series of its reports. In an attempt to bring it up to date and carry the imprimatur of an academic publisher Senior Editor Spicer has added an extensive Introduction. Now, nearly a quarter of a century after its initial appearance with much available research done in the interim on the subject, it was disappointing to find the author failed to round out his volume with the reasons and causes for the decision to evacuate.

This second publication deserves an expanded treatment to cover outside developments during the relocation period such as the political pressures upon WRA and which also affected evacuees in the centers. Also, the authors leave this unique phase of American history dangling by not including the present circumstances of the formerly impounded people. Moreover the resurgence of interest after a century since the first coming of Japanese immigrants would give this edition special value if it gave fuller treatment to that part of our history which other authors have titled “Our Worst Wartime Mistake” and “Americans Betrayed.”

A footnote on page 7 in the Introduction detracted from the merit of the book by obvious historical errors. This footnote defines “Issei: Japanese immigrants forbidden to become U.S. citizens by the Oriental Exclusion Proclamation of 1907—a ban not lifted until 1952.” Issei were Japanese immigrants denied naturalization from the outset by court interpretation of Congressional legislation

which had not extended naturalization to Japanese until 1952; although around the turn of the century a few Issei had been granted citizenship by judicial oversight. Moreover, the year 1907 refers to the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907 which was a negotiated United States-Japan understanding in which Japan agreed to cease issuance of passports to laborers coming to the United States. Finally, to clear up the last error in this garbled footnote: Oriental Exclusion was not a Proclamation but an Act and generally refers to the 1924 Immigration Act.

JOE GRANT MASAOKA is the administrator of the Japanese-American Research Project at the University of California, Los Angeles.

*Everyman's Eden: A History of California.* By Ralph J. Roske. (New York: Macmillan, 1968, 624 pp. \$12.50.) Reviewed by Andrew Rolle.

Time was when there were only a couple of one-volume histories of California available. Now that the field is filling up, the writing of yet another history of the state calls for special attention to certain key organizational factors. A central problem is how to integrate into such a volume the large mass of monographic literature produced during the last ten years. Any historian of California must also decide what should be covered in a comprehensive history of America's most populous and varied state. Ideally, the author of such a volume should be a specialist in the history of California, if not in the history of the West. At least that has been the background of most historians who have tackled the job of writing the history of an area so complicated that Lord Bryce once called its problems similar to those of a nation rather than to a state.

Although a workmanlike earnestness comes through on every page, one can tell that Roske was trained in another area of history. Several reviewers have suggested that the volume should be used with caution, and have called attention to errors that mar its pages. If this is so, such inaccuracies are of a minor sort. But they are of the type that infuriate antiquarians and local specialists, with which California abounds. The book is actually more long-winded than inaccurate. It is a kind of grab-bag of miscellaneous data.

Although Roske attempts virtually no new interpretations, his book can be rewarding. Perhaps the strongest section is on California during the Civil War. Other eras, such as the fur trade period and the gold rush years, are less substantial. His publishers have given Roske the luxury of rambling for pages onto byways ordinarily closed to authors during this age of high publishing costs. One is tempted to believe that the book could have been improved by slimming, but the result would have been the jettisoning of dozens of interesting details. It is surely those details that won a prize for the volume last year. As to classroom use, individual professors will need to decide if the book's bulk hampers its usefulness. The suggested reading lists are, on the other hand, skimpy.

One ends with the feeling that better coordination of detail would have produced a tighter volume for both professional and lay readers. As to appearance, it is nicely printed and illustrated. Considering its bulk, the book is not overpriced,

and most of us have already made room for it on our crowded bookshelf of Californiana.

ANDREW ROLLE, author of *California: A History* and also of many monographs on California and Western United States history, is the Robert Glass Cleland Professor of American History at Occidental College.

*Pioneer Jews of the California Mother Lode, 1849-1880: An Annotated Bibliography.* Compiled by Sara G. Cogan. (Berkeley: Western Jewish Center, 1968. 54pp. n.p.) Reviewed by Manuel P. Servín.

Sara G. Cogan and the Western Jewish History Center must be congratulated for respectively compiling and publishing this critical bibliography on a most ignored phase of Western United States history — the role of the Jews in developing the New West. It is precisely because the role of the Jews has been overlooked by historians of the West that *Pioneer Jews of the California Mother Lode, 1849-1880* becomes a most valuable historical tool. This bibliography, coupled with Norton B. Stern's *California Jewish History: A Descriptive Bibliography*, should be the stepping-stone for California and Western historians to begin incorporating into their works — both monographs and textbooks — the part played by the Jewish pioneers in the growth of the state.

*Pioneer Jews of the California Mother Lode, 1849-1880: An Annotated Bibliography* is both a well conceived volume and a very sound scholarly work. Following a very logical sequence, significant bibliographical entries are arranged into seven catagories: (1) Bibliographical Aids, (2) Contemporary Records, (3) Contemporary Accounts, (4) City and County Directories, (5) Family Histories and Biographical Sketches, (6) Historical Works: Jewish (7) Historical Works: General. The entries, of which there are 188 in the volume, are well annotated so that the researcher immediately knows what is contained in the cited work as well as what library has a copy. In addition to these two most essential research aids, the volume, which is beautifully printed, contains an appreciated index.

MANUEL P. SERVÍN is professor of history at Arizona State University.

*A Chronological History of Voyages and Discoveries in the South Seas, or Pacific Ocean.* By James Burney. Bibliotheca Australiana, 3-7. (Amsterdam and New York: N. Israel and Da Capo Press, 1967. 5 vols. 2267 pp. \$110.00.) Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes.

James Burney, a naval officer, compiled and edited the most complete history of voyages of discovery of his day. Employing original diaries as well as such sources as Herrera, Purchas, Hakluyt, Galvão, Ramusio, López de Gómara, Mártir Barros, Argensola, de Brosses, Acosta, Venegas, Couto, Grijalva, Alcedo, Dalrymple, and Vancouver in his first volume, Burney treats of the voyages of Magellan, Loaysa, Saavedra Cerón, Alcaçoba, Cortés, Alvarado, Camargo, Niza, Francisco de

Ulloa, Rodríguez Cabrillo, López de Villalobos, López de Legazpi, Mendaña, and Drake. Five maps, following the cartography of Arrowsmith and other eighteenth century cartographers, are also included in this volume which deals with the first "phase" of exploration and circumnavigation.

Volume II treats of those explorations which followed in the wake of the great circumnavigations. Original manuscripts as well as the works of Colín, Linschoten, Anson, Churchill, González Barcia, Torquemada, Byron, Morga, Cook, Cabrera Bueno, Kaempfer, De Bry, Meares, Gemelli Careri, Spilbergen, Antonio de Ulloa, Wallis, Carteret, and *Recueil des Voyages a l'Etablissement de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales* are the sources for the voyages of Sarmiento, Cavendish, Merick, "Fuca," Richard Hawkins, Mendaña, Vizcaíno, Mahu, van Noort, Fernández de Quirós, Le Maire, Schouten, and Nodal and for the comparison of these voyages to more recent discoveries and place names. Fourteen maps appear in this volume as does an appendix containing a translation by Alexander Dalrymple of the Relation of Luis Báez de Torres of his voyage to New Guinea.

The third volume of Burney's work deals with European exploration and expansion to the Far East and Australia. Again original journals as well as the works of Gerritz, Colnett, Tasman, Charlevoix, Broughton, Dudley, Espinosa y Tello, and Le Gobien are used as sources for the discussion of the activities of the Dutch East India Company in Korea, Japan, Formosa, and Australia as well as the voyages of Nassau, Quast, Tasman, Brouwer, Kastrikom and Breskens, Hamel, Follada, "Fonte," Peche, La Roché, and Narbrough to the Pacific. Nineteen charts are used to illustrate this volume which also reproduces the journals of Tasman, Hamel and Narbrough.

Over one-half of volume four contains the "History of the Buccaneers of America," a basic source for the study of English, French, and Dutch piracy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Dealing with both the Caribbean and the Pacific, Burney employs Fernández de Oviedo, Southey, Esquemelin, Ringrose, Dampier, Woodes Rogers, and Porter as his major sources. The latter half of this volume, which contains four charts, comprises the voyages of Strong, Gemelli Careri, Atondo, Kino, Paterson, Beauchesne, Halley, Dampier, Woodes Rogers, Frezier, Clipperton, Shelvocke, and Roggewein based upon journals, Churchill, Cooke, and the *Lettres edificants et curieux*...

The final volume contains a treatise on the Carolinas, the voyages of Bouvet, Anson, Cheap, Bougainville to the Falkland Islands and a discussion of their ownership, and the apocryphal voyage of Lorenzo Ferrer Maldonado. Also included are four charts, an addenda and a most useful and desirable index.

While Burney's work is, of course, subject to revision in light of historical research since its publication, it remains a basic source for the history of discovery between 1519 and 1764. Originally published in London by Luke Hansard between 1803 and 1817, this second edition is completely reproduced in facsimile on fine paper and is nicely bound.

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*A Bibliography of California Bibliographies.* By Francis J. Weber. (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1968. 40 pp. \$12.00.) Reviewed by Anna Marie Hager.

For the ardent book collector and librarian what more attractive piece of reading could be found than an expertly prepared and printed bibliography?

The Reverend Francis J. Weber, archivist for the Los Angeles Roman Catholic Church Archdiocese, has accomplished this unique feat. It is quite obvious that Father Weber joins with those of us who relish book catalogues and bibliographies a little more, perhaps, than other types of reading! In this small tome, sadly limited to but 500 copies, which will certainly restrict the audience of interested students anxious to discover the selective and choice items within, 128 titles have been discussed. Ten title page facsimiles enhance this valuable bibliography of bibliographies.

An informative introduction by Dr. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., prepares the reader for the nine pages of Father Weber's exciting comments prior to the formal *Checklist of California Bibliographies* which follows on the next thirty pages. The reader will be intrigued by the wide field Archivist Weber has covered and the locale of some of the listed items.

Designed by Ward Ritchie the book is bound in gray cloth and enclosed in a chartreuse slip case — giving dual delight to mind and eye — it also presents some interesting challenges for other bibliographers to follow. This is, indeed, a gem to use and to hold.

ANNA MARIE HAGER, a distinguished authority on California bibliography, is on the staff of *Westways*.

*Aqueduct Empire: A Guide to Water in California — Its Turbulent History and Its Management Today.* By Erwin Cooper. (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1968. 439 pp. \$12.50.) Reviewed by James M. Jensen.

One of the most persistent problems to be solved in the American West — and particularly California — is the development of an adequate water system. The booming population growth in California with its demands for enormous quantities of water has brought increasing challenges. It is because of these added demands for water caused by a population boom, a growth in agriculture and industry that this book is of timely interest and value.

The author tells the story well. An underlying problem that confronted each successive group of settlers in this state resulted from either too much or too little water. In consecutive chapters Mr. Cooper indicates how the people first used local resources to meet their needs; but soon the population increased to a point that water had to be imported. The needs of San Francisco were met by flooding the Hetch Hetchy Valley near Yosemite and the water being carried by aqueduct to the San Francisco Bay area. The water of the Owens River Valley was diverted to meet the needs of a growing Los Angeles. Subsequent growth brought greater needs which were met by tapping the Colorado River. The formation of the

Metropolitan Water District of Southern California assured communities whose local sources were depleted an adequate water supply. In the Great Central Valley, The Central Valley Project has helped to control floods and to divert water to the arid areas by canals, thereby opening a new agricultural empire. The culmination of these projects is the diversion of water from Northern California to Southern California as part of the California Water Project.

The author also gives attention to problems of water supply and management. The conservation and storage of water, the depletion of the ground water and its contamination — including sea water intrusion, the pollution of our rivers and lakes, the reclamation of water and its reuse — are all adequately covered and documented.

One emerges from reading this volume with an assurance that in the future, water will be adequately transported to areas of great need, that flood waters will be controlled, that the people will continue to demand and be provided a sufficient quantity and useable quality of water — all of which will guarantee a continuous growth of this state.

Mr. Cooper is well qualified to write about water, its history and management. He is a professional journalist with many years in the California Department of Water Resources. There are some minor errors in the book. To say that the records at the California Missions end in 1832 when the missions were secularized by the Mexican government is not accurate. The law was not enforced until 1834 and secularization continued until 1836. One might also question the statement that some "100,000 Indians camped and fished" around a body of water which was called "Lake Cahuilla" located in the area between Palm Springs and El Centro. There is no corroborating evidence to indicate such a large Indian population resided in that area.

The illustrations are well-chosen and adequate. The inclusion of an index and annotated bibliography add to the usefulness of this volume. Mr. Cooper has produced a book that will long be used as a basic reference in the field.

JAMES M. JENSEN is a member of the history staff at Citrus College, Azusa.

*The University of California: A Pictorial History.* By Albert G. Pickerell and Mary Dornin. (Berkeley: University of California, 1968. 326 pp. \$12.50.) Reviewed by Manuel P. Servín.

It is indeed a sad commentary upon American education and society that a university as distinguished as the University of California has had to rely on a pictorial history to celebrate its first one hundred years. Aside from the noncommittal illustration captions and the brief explanations, this volume has almost nothing to offer to the serious student of American education and of California history.

Nostalgic alumni, especially the graduates of Berkeley, and also those of the other eight campuses — San Francisco, Davis, Riverside, San Diego, Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Irvine, and Santa Cruz — will be pleased. Recent graduates,

current students, and the interested taxpayers will not. The reason for the latters' negative reaction, aside from the volume's pictorial and public relations aspect, is that the work is not really a history but simply a chronicle of the growth of the University, of the distinguished attainments of its faculty, and of the extracurricular activities of the students. Obviously, such an approach in this day is totally inadequate. Universities as institutions seeking and expounding truth should be the last ones to suppress the problems they encounter, produce, and even fail to solve.

MANUEL P. SERVÍN, professor of history at Arizona State University, is the coauthor (with Iris H. Wilson) of *Southern California and Its University: The History of USC, 1880-1964*.

*UCLA On The Move During Fifty Golden Years, 1919-1969*. By Andrew Hamilton and John B. Jackson. (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1969. 230 pp. \$10.00.) Reviewed by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr.

Every alumnus of UCLA will be stirred with nostalgic memories while reading this book. I know I was (B.A., Class of 1947). On the other hand, California taxpayers should find much that is equally rewarding. For in essence, this book is a pictorial history of UCLA which celebrates the institution's impressive achievements on the occasion of its Golden Anniversary. And there is much to celebrate. Alumni can take pride in what their alma mater has made possible in the broad area of university education, rising as it has from a small "southern branch" to the state university's second most important campus (it still ranks below Berkeley in a number of areas). Citizen taxpayers can take pride as well, for it was their dollars that paid the bills, built the buildings, made the education opportunities of the institution possible—and open and free to all. The UCLA story contains a singular truth: students and taxpayers can accomplish superb results if given the support, patience, and purpose. UCLA is a living example of that partnership.

Today UCLA ranks among the top twenty-five universities in the United States. Its academic standing has been heralded on many fronts, among them are the spectacular records achieved by its Schools of Medicine, Law, Engineering, Business Administration, its superb contribution in the broad area of the arts, the high achievement in the sciences and letters, as well as the rise of its university library to a peak of excellence. Actually, the lexicon of achievements has been accelerated in recent decades, partly because of the dynamic impact of former Chancellor Franklin D. Murphy, a man of extraordinary vision and sensitivity.

This book, extolling the phenomenal growth of UCLA, is at best a chronological narrative. It is not actually an institutional history. There is no attempt at analysis; little emphasis on internal relations; short on discussion of decision-making processes; silent on intrastate and intercampus rivalry; thin on moments of crisis and confrontation; poor in the area of citation to documentary materials. But I suspect that the intent of the authors has been realized: they wanted to present an impressive account in word and picture that would warm the hearts of old grads and appeal as a testament to the eye of the weary contemporary taxpayer.

What one reads and sees is a positive statement throughout. Clearly, it is shown that UCLA is the product of dedicated men, conscientious faculty, devoted students, steady state support.

UCLA's first fifty years would appear to mark a watershed not only in its history, but in the history of the university in the United States. The flow of events both on and off campus are altering the course of higher education. It has already affected UCLA. Free tuition is gone; state funding has been restricted; federal grants have been curtailed; alumnae giving has diminished. Yet, educational demands and requirements have not been similarly reduced. And the future is none too bright for redress. Well, then, can UCLA celebrate its anniversary. It reached its Golden Jubilee during a parallel time of golden opportunity for higher education. But whence tomorrow?

DOYCE B. NUNIS, JR., a noted authority on California history, is professor of history at the University of Southern California.

*Die ersten Hamburger im Goldland Kalifornien.* By Renate Hauschild-Thiessen. (Hamburg: Hans Christians Verlag, 1969. 105 pp. n.p.) Reviewed by Donald F. Meadows.

This publication of the Historical Society of Hamburg, Germany, will provide those who read German with an illuminating account of Hamburg's significant role in the Gold Rush.

During the decade beginning in 1849, immigrants to California from Hamburg, Germany contributed heavily to the economic development of the new state. Quick to grasp the foreign trade potential connected with the gold discoveries, Hamburg was the first German state to establish a consulate in San Francisco (November, 1849). Citizens of Hamburg set out for the Gold Country both as gold seekers and as merchants, many of whom sank their entire capital in the importation of various consumer goods to California. Frequent business failures in the early years reflected a deficient knowledge of the California market with its unpredictable fluctuations between supply and demand. But by 1855, with more stable socioeconomic conditions prevailing, those Hamburg citizens who had been able to hang on were becoming prosperous, some wealthy. "It is certain that California in the gold discovery years generally offered more opportunities than did Hamburg at that time, especially for artisans, carpenters, and other skilled tradesmen who faced unemployment at home" (page 67).

The primary intent of this book is to trace the destiny of every known Hamburg immigrant to California up to 1854. The author's source material consists of consular records, ships' logs, contemporary newspaper notices, diaries, financial reports, family chronicles, and personal letters. These sources are scrupulously cited and documented. The result is a thoroughly researched digest of names together with the known facts surrounding these names. The American descendants of some of the original immigrants are traced up to the present. For quick reference, an appendix lists alphabetically every known individual who emigrated

from Hamburg to California up to 1854, together with data about his family and professional background.

This book is more a collection of facts than an interpretive study. Yet the author succeeds in forging the voluminous material into a narrative account of a cultural minority's economic and social contribution to California's growth.

DONALD F. MEADOWS is a member of the history staff of Yuba College, Marysville.

*Flathead and Kootenay: The Rivers, the Tribes, and the Region's Traders.* By Olga Weydemeyer Johnson. (Glendale: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1969. 392 pp. \$13.50.) Reviewed by Clifford M. Drury.

This is Volume IX in the growing Northwest Historical Series being issued by the Clark Company. The author deals with the history of the Flathead and Kootenay (also spelled Kutenai) Indians from prehistoric times to about 1890, or possibly a little later. She relies heavily on Prof. Harry Holbert Turney-High's studies on these two tribes for her material for her earlier chapters. An extensive bibliography of nearly eleven pages testifies to the author's wide research. Included in the bibliography is a list of thirty-five or more individuals whom she interviewed. Among these were Indians, descendants of pioneers, Indian Agents, and students of Indian lore. She has skillfully woven into her narrative the information given by these individuals.

The homeland of these Indians centered in what is now northern Idaho, eastern Washington, western Montana, southeastern British Columbia, and southwestern Alberta. Considerable attention is given to the Tobacco Plains country which lies west of the Continental Divide and which straddles the Canadian-United States boundary. Here the Kutenais sowed and harvested sacred plants for ceremonial smoking long before the coming of the white men. The author has diligently researched the history of these two tribes from every possible source — native traditions and customs, language peculiarities, reminiscences of both Indians and Whites, and finally from a large number of books, pamphlets, and published articles on this subject. Her work is well documented.

The author follows Father Palladino in claiming that the 1831 party of four Indians which visited General Clark in St. Louis were Flathead Indians. True, they were called Flatheads but it has been well established that at least three were full-blooded Nez Percés and the fourth was probably half-Nez Percé and half-Flathead. Even Father De Smet, in a letter to Elijah White dated March 4, 1843 (original in National Archives), denies that the personnel of the 1831 delegation were Flatheads. The author (p. 265) advances the theory that possibly the Nez Percés "had married among the Flatheads" and therefore had been inspired by the Flatheads to go to St. Louis to look for Christian teachers. This is pure imagination.

The author's chapters dealing with such subjects as "Womenfolk," "Devotions," and "Gun Men" are well done. She gives a good review of the coming of the explorers, the fur traders, the miners, and finally the settlers. The story she

tells of the difficulties the natives faced when the United States government forced them to live on reservations is stirring.

The pictures are well selected and the index appears to be exhaustive. The book appears in the same fine quality of printing, format, and binding expected of all the products of the Arthur H. Clark Company. Certainly this book deserves a place in every university, college, or private library which collects items dealing with our western history and especially with the story of the Indians.

CLIFFORD M. DRURY, a renowned authority on the history of the Pacific Northwest, is professor of church history, emeritus, at San Francisco Theological Seminary.

*Seventy-five Years in California.* By William Heath Davis. Edited by Harold A. Small. (San Francisco: John Howell — Books, 1967. 345 pp. \$27.50.) Reviewed by Manuel P. Servín.

William Heath Davis' memoirs are the outstanding eyewitness account of Mexican California. Unlike other accounts written by either newly arrived or ethnocentric North Americans immigrants, Davis' social history of Mexican and early American California depicts Mexican life and people in an objective, sympathetic manner, avoiding the then prevalent overtones of American racial and cultural superiority. Consequently, this approach, plus Davis' great interest in people and in ordinary life, places his memoirs far above the journals and narratives of his contemporaries, especially those works written by overland pioneers and money-hungry miners and lawyers and judges.

Classified as a basic source "for study of the Spanish-Mexican society" by Andrew Rolle, Davis' biographer, this rare volume demanded republication. Fortunately, Warren Howell did much more than just reprint the 1929 edition which was published by John Howell. This third edition, as a result of utilizing Davis' own marked copy of the 1889 edition, has a revised text containing corrections and additions. For this excellent new text, as well as for the succinct biographies of persons mentioned, the fine glossary of Spanish words, and two full indices, Warren Howell is indebted to Editor Harold A. Small. For the artistic and exquisite volume, he is beholden to Lawton Kennedy, distinguished printer.

MANUEL P. SERVÍN is an associate professor of history at the University of Southern California.

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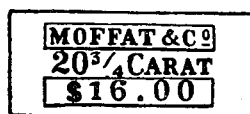
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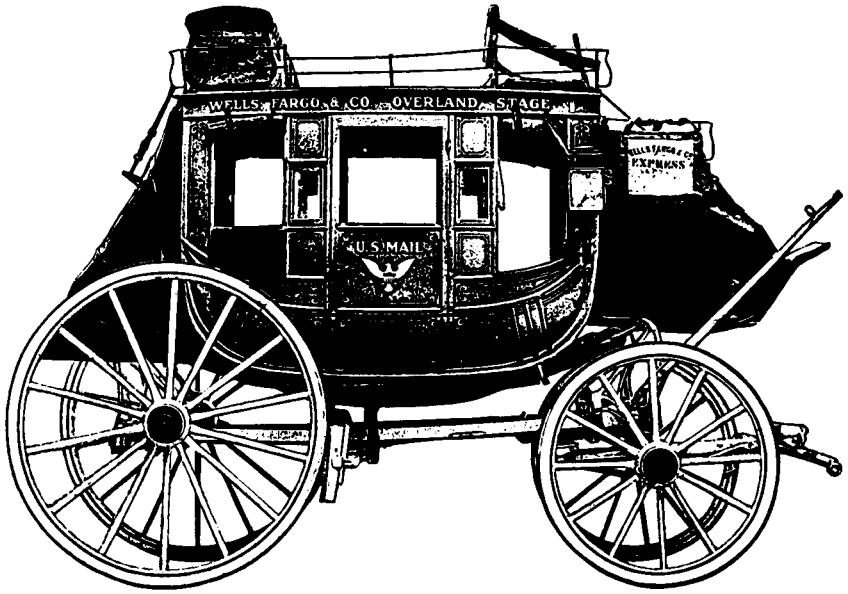
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MERRILL LYNCH, PIERCE, FENNER & SMITH, INC. . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
WILSON & GEO. MEYER & CO. . . . .	SOUTH SAN FRANCISCO
MILLER & LUX, INCORPORATED . . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
THE NEWHALL LAND AND FARMING COMPANY . . . . .	VALENCIA
O'MELVENY & MYERS . . . . .	LOS ANGELES
PACIFIC GAS AND ELECTRIC COMPANY . . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
THE PACIFIC TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY . . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
PARROTT & CO. . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
PATRICK & CO. . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
PENINSULA NEWSPAPERS INCORPORATED . . . . .	PALO ALTO
POPE & TALBOT, INC. . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
SAN FRANCISCO COMMERCIAL CLUB . . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
SAN JOSE MERCURY-NEWS . . . . .	SAN JOSE
SAN MARINO CITY CLUB . . . . .	SAN MARINO
THE SAN RAFAEL INDEPENDENT-JOURNAL . . . . .	SAN RAFAEL
SECURITY FIRST NATIONAL BANK . . . . .	LOS ANGELES
SIMPSON'S CATERING . . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
SOUTHERN PACIFIC COMPANY . . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
SPANISH NATIONAL TOURIST OFFICE . . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
STANDARD OIL COMPANY OF CALIFORNIA . . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
STAUFFER CHEMICAL COMPANY . . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
LEVI STRAUSS & CO. . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
THOMASSER & ASSOCIATES . . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
TITLE INSURANCE AND TRUST COMPANY . . . . .	LOS ANGELES
TUBBS CORDAGE COMPANY . . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
UNION SUGAR DIVISION, CONSOLIDATED FOODS CORPORATION . . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
UNITED CALIFORNIA BANK . . . . .	LOS ANGELES and SAN FRANCISCO
WEIBEL CHAMPAGNE VINEYARDS . . . . .	MISSION SAN JOSE
WELLS FARGO BANK . . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
WHISLER / PATRI ASSOCIATES . . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
DEAN WITTER & CO. . . . .	SAN FRANCISCO
YOSEMITE PARK & CURRY CO. . . . .	YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK



**WELLS FARGO BANK**